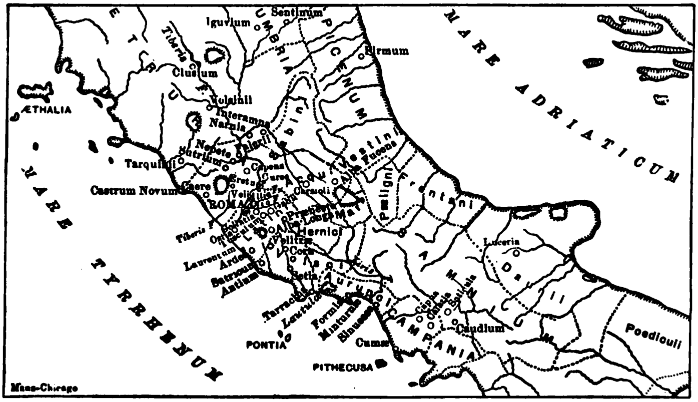
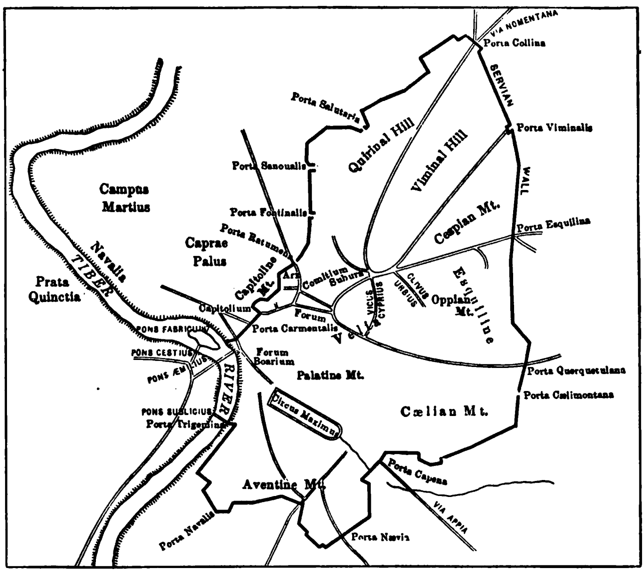
E. K. Rand

Cambridge, Dec. 1908



THE WARS WITH THE ETRUSCANS, AEQUIANS, VOLSCIANS, AND SAMNITES



THE SERVIAN CITY

The Lake Classical Series

LIVY

SELECTIONS FROM THE FIRST DECADE

EDITED BY

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PREFACE

This edition—*parva sed apta* it is hoped—has taken its present form, as has the companion volume in this series by Professor Bechtel, from a conviction, based on classroom experiments, that it is desirable for students to become acquainted with a wider range of selections from Livy than is represented in the stereotyped three-book edition. Books I, XXI, XXII are themselves only selections, and they possess no special sanctity that should impose their less interesting chapters on a student to the exclusion of other matter which may afford greater variety of interest and better illustrate Livy's mastery of style and his versatility. In the selections offered there has been an aim to preserve the historian's method in well defined units, showing regal and republican administration, the manner of life, and especially through what sort of men the State extended its power as it expanded from a shepherd settlement into a power dominant throughout Italy.

The brief notes are in keeping with a sane reaction against the over-loaded commentary, for American editors in swinging away from the type of edition based on this or that German work have sometimes proved their own erudition at the expense of the student's real needs. The student in his earlier stage, therefore, and not the specialist, has been kept in mind, the object being to stimulate interest and to offer only such help as experience has shown to be practically necessary. To this each teacher will add according to his particular purpose. The great number of Latin grammars now

before the public has led to a brief statement, where it seemed desirable, of the principle involved rather than array a legion of discouraging references.

The text is substantially that of the Weissenborn-M. Müller edition, with the free use, however, of such variant readings or recent emendations as commended themselves. Special indebtedness to the commentaries of Weissenborn-H. J. Müller, M. Müller, Luterbacher, and Cocchia is gladly acknowledged. The editor desires also to own his great obligation to Professor Edward A. Bechtel of Tulane University for many valuable suggestions and practical aid; and to Professor H. W. Johnston of Indiana University, editor-in-chief of the series, for valued aid, generously given both directly and indirectly.

O. F. Long.

Northwestern University, November, 1908.

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INTRODUCTION

I. Livy's Life.

No ancient life of Livy has come down to us, such as we have in the case of Caesar and Vergil, Horace and Terence, nor should the student expect to find direct information, as in the works of such an author as Cicero. A few facts, however, may be gathered from Livy and from external sources. He was born in northern Italy at Patavium (now Padua) in 59 B. C., and is called in full Titus Livius Patavinus. It appears that he was of gentle birth and that he enjoyed in his educational training the best advantages of his day. His work shows intimate acquaintance with Greek authors, such as Plato, Xenophon, Demosthenes, and Polybius, while his training in philosophy and more particularly in rhetoric and oratory is an easy inference from his style, even if external evidence were lacking. The bearing of this training, aside from the traditional position of these subjects in the curriculum, may be seen from the ancient aphorism that history is philosophy in the concrete, and from the practical relation of rhetoric as illustrated on every page of Livy's work.

It is significant that Rome's greatest writers were not natives of Rome, but were men who passed through the experience of a more or less provincial youth before being drawn to the metropolis. Livy's native town, however, was not a quiet country village, but a rich flourishing city, although its inhabitants were still simple in their manners and severe in their morals. From such

surroundings Livy no doubt acquired a habit of mind which in part explains his antiquarian tendencies and his primitive faith. It is recorded that C. Asinius Pollio, a prominent contemporary, thought Livy guilty of *Patavinitas*, but it is more likely that this to us indefinite criticism was applied to some peculiarity in his diction, than to the bent of his mind. The citizens of Patavium were granted Roman citizenship in 49 B. C., when Livy was at the impressionable age of ten. In the same year Caesar crossed the Rubicon. Whether from these events he became a sympathizer with Pompey, as Augustus later playfully charged him with being, is uncertain, but it is evident from the general Preface that the civil wars distressed him, and throughout he is, as a *laudator temporis acti*, a republican in feeling and expression.

How long Livy remained at Patavium before finally taking up residence in Rome is a matter of conjecture. He was in Rome at any rate shortly after the battle of Actium, 31 B. C., and it is known that the first book of his history was written there before 25 B. C. He seems to have won speedy recognition of his merits and was a familiar in the distinguished coterie of literary men whom Augustus honorably encouraged. There is no record that Livy was a man of affairs, and apparently most of his life was devoted to his great literary work. So great was his renown, even in his own day, that according to the well known story a Spaniard came all the way to Rome that he might but catch a glimpse of him, and after accomplishing this he at once returned home—a story which moved Petrarch to exclaim that he would have come from India to see so great a man.

Of Livy's immediate family, two children, a son and a daughter, are mentioned. Of these we merely know

that the son had some ability as a writer, and that the daughter was the wife of a certain rhetorician, L. Magius.

Shortly after the death of Augustus (14 A. D.), when affairs at Rome began to grow worse under Tiberius, Livy probably retired again to Patavium where his independent spirit and republican sympathies subjected him to less annoyance, if not less actual danger. Here he died in 17 A. D., at the age of seventy-six. In the early part of the fifteenth century there was great excitement throughout Europe over the discovery of the supposed remains of the historian, but there was insufficient evidence to establish their identity. A persistent belief, however, in their genuineness led his patriotic countrymen more than a century later, in 1547 A. D., to erect a mausoleum in Livy's honor, and to place upon it an inscription recounting the lasting honor brought to Padua by her distinguished son, who was "*historicorum Latini nominis facile princeps.*"

II. Title and Scope of His Works

Earlier works of Livy were Philosophical Dialogues, and a book of Rhetorical *Praecepta* dedicated to his son. These were probably not extensive works, and no fragments remain to show their exact character.

The History of Rome, called *Ab Urbe Condita Libri* according to the best manuscript tradition, was Livy's great work. Earlier historians had in many cases called their works *Annales*, from the method of arrangement, and Livy once (43. 13. 2) uses the same title, *in meos annales*, but it is used in a somewhat conventional sense, in a context which refers to the *annales* of his predecessors.

The scope of Livy's work is implied in the statement of the Preface, that while the writer is dealing with the founding of the state and its earlier history the reader in some instances, will be eager to hasten to

contemporary events. That Livy planned to bring his narrative down to some particular event, as for example the death of Augustus, is mere speculation, not well supported in the case mentioned by either testimony or probability. As a matter of fact, he completed one hundred and forty-two books, which treated events only as far as 9 B. C. Books I-V cover the period from the founding of the city to its destruction by the Gauls (390 B.C.). Book VI begins with a special preface referring to the scanty records for the first period, with assurances that better sources are available for the succeeding portions. The distribution of material for the remaining books was as follows:

Books XVI-XX, the first Punic war.
XXI-XXX, the second Punic war.
XXXI-XL, the Macedonian wars.
XLI-LXX, to the outbreak of the Social wars.
LXXI-LXXX, to the death of Marius.
LXXXI-XC, to the death of Sulla.
XCI-CVIII, war with Sertorius; Caesar's Gallic wars.
CIX-CXVI, Civil wars to the death of Caesar.
CXVII-CXXXIII, to the conquest of Antony and Cleopatra.
CXXXIV-CXLII, to the death of Drusus, 9 B.C.

As far as book XC the divisions fall rather naturally into groups of five or ten books each, and the various special prefaces, as for example at VI, XXI, and XXXI would indicate that the work was published thus in sections. Grammarians at a later period gave to such groups of ten books the name Decade, a term used wholly without reference to time, as in our modern use.

Such a voluminous work as Livy's soon became a burden to the degenerate taste of the Empire, and it could have passed through the barbarities of the Middle

Ages only by rare good fortune. Only thirty-five books, I-X, XXI-XLV, have reached us. Less than a century after Livy's death the poet Martial lightly complains that his library does not afford room for so large a work: *Livius ingens, quem mea non totum bibliotheca capit* (XIV, 190). Complete copies, however, were extant at the beginning of the fifth century of our era, and apparently for a century or two later; but as early as the first half of the first century an abridgment, or *Epitome*, was made for convenience, and from this *Epitome*, but made at a much later date, we have outlines, or *Periochae*, giving brief summaries of the contents of each book. From these *Periochae*, which exist for all books, except the 136th and 137th, we learn the scope of the whole work, and see how inestimably valuable it would be should research ever bring the lost portions to light. The character of the *Periochae* and some hint of the interest of lost books may be seen from the following:

Periocha Lib. XVI. Origo Carthaginiensium et primordia urbis eorum referuntur. Contra quos et Hieronem, regem Syracusanorum, auxilium Mamertinis ferendum senatus censuit, cum de ea re inter suadentes, ut id fieret, dissuadentesque contentio fuisset; transgressisque tunc primum mare exercitibus Romanis adversus Hieronem saepius bene pugnatum. Petenti pax data est. Lustrum a censoribus conditum; censa sunt civium capita ducenta octoginta duo milia ducenta triginta quattuor. D. Iunius Brutus munus gladiatorium in honorem defuncti patris primus edidit. Colonia Aesernia deducta est. Res praeterea contra Poenos et Vulsinios prospere gestas continet.

III. Earlier Histories of Rome; Livy's Sources

Roman literature was late in its development, and it was but natural that History, giving an account of

what the nation had already achieved, should be conspicuous in their earliest productions. The first works conceived in a national spirit were epic poems, the *Bellum Poenicum* of Naevius and the *Annales* of Ennius, and in each of these, as the names would imply, the historical element strongly predominated. The first history in prose was the *Annales* of Q. Fabius Pictor, a writer whom Livy calls *scriptorum antiquissimus.* His work, written in Greek because in his day no adequate Latin prose had been developed, covered the history of Rome from its founding until the close of the second Punic war. Livy deservedly esteemed Pictor as a worthy authority (cf. 22. 7. 4.). The title *Annales* was commonly used by earlier historians, and suggests that their sources were in part the annual records kept by the various sacred colleges, such as those of the augurs and the pontiffs. The records of the pontiffs were themselves called *annales maximi.* History based upon these sources and arranged by years must obviously have been meager in style, however trustworthy as to fact. Contemporary events were naturally treated with greater fullness, as in Pictor's account of the second Punic war, in which he himself had fought. Other Annalists writing in Greek were L. Cincius Alimentus and C. Acilius; both of whose works Livy knew and used either directly or indirectly.

The first historian to use Latin prose was Cato the Elder. His *Origines*, to which Cicero, de Sen. 38, makes him refer with some pride, gave the early history of Rome and of other Italian cities as well and there was added a history of the first and second Punic wars. Cato departed somewhat from the annalistic treatment, particularly in that he inserted speeches in his narrative. Many subsequent historians, however, went back to the title of *Annales*, as in the case of L. Cassius Hemina,

L. Calpurnius Piso, Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, Valerius Antias, C. Licinius Macer, Q. Aelius Tubero, and Cn. Gellius. With the exception of Quadrigarius, who began with the Gallic invasion of 390 B.C., each of these writers began with the earliest period; Hemina concluded his brief work of four books with the second Punic war, while the others brought their work down to contemporary events. None of these histories has come down to us, but ancient critics represent them as varying much in style, and in the industry and trustworthiness of their authors Piso is used frequently by Livy in books I and II, but there could have been little in common between the warmth of Livy's narrative and the severe simplicity of Piso's style. While he is mentioned by name six times, he is nowhere spoken of with any enthusiasm. To Quadrigarius and Antias, to Macer and Tubero, Livy was likewise indebted for material in the first decade. Macer is expressly mentioned seven times, but only in the first decade. The author whom Livy quotes most frequently throughout his work is Antias. His name appears thirty-six times, often in slighting references after Livy reaches periods where he is able to detect the apparently willful fabrications in which the work of Antias abounded. In many instances these various authors are cited only to be rejected, and for this reason we can not tell definitely what source Livy follows when he has silently accepted statements as facts.

These in the main were Livy's literary sources in the first decade, though not all of these were used directly, and none of them was used consistently throughout any portion of his work. The extent to which he was dependent upon a more or less fluid tradition for the earlier periods, where imagination, an indispensable gift for any historian, has often rounded out the narrative,

may be seen from his use of such words as *traditur, ferunt, dicitur, constat,* etc. A list of such expressions shows that they are three times as frequent in the first ten books as in any later decade.

Besides literary sources and tradition there was a certain amount of such material as a modern historian would consider indispensable. There were various records, such as the *annales maximi* kept by the *pontifices* from the fifth century on; the *libri lintei,* or lists of magistrates placed in the temple of Juno Moneta; the *fasti,* or calendar, with its notation of events; copies of treaties and laws; and especially the lists of consuls (*fasti consulares*), censors, dictators and their masters of horse, the triumphs, and the Secular Games from a very early period down to Livy's own day—all graven upon the marble of the outer walls of the *Regia* (the home of the *pontifex*), and now called *fasti Capitolini* from their being preserved on the Capitoline hill. To what extent Livy made direct use of such material is problematical. His reference in the preface of book VI to the loss of such material in the destruction of the city by the Gauls would indicate his appreciation of its value, but he can often be convicted of neglecting the records that were undoubtedly available.

IV. Method and Purpose

It has long since been recognized that Livy's history is not to be judged by the standards which the modern historian sets for himself. The modern historian is critical, seeking primarily accuracy in details and giving his reader the philosophy of events. Considerations of style are important but wholly secondary. Livy's history, on the other hand, must be judged primarily as a work of art, conscientiously executed by the standards of the author's own day, when the achievements of men

or of a nation was in effect merely a story to be told. This was still in the next century the conception of so great an authority as Quintilian: *Est* (sc. *historia*) *proxima poetis et quodam modo carmen solutum, et scribitur ad narrandum, non ad probandum* (10. 1. 31). The three factors which entered most powerfully into the style of such a production were formal training, the tendencies of the period, and the individual temperament of the writer. The formal rhetorical training of the Roman, particularly after the full influence of Grecian culture, is in evidence everywhere in their literature, and to neglect it is to fail to get the Roman point of view.

The justification for a new history, according to Livy (Praef. 2), is to be found in the ability of the historian to contribute something more authentic in subject matter, or at least to excel predecessors in style of composition. That his own work was not simply for the reader's entertainment is expressly stated (9. 17. 1). The wholesome tone of his general Preface shows both his integrity of purpose and his sound judgment as to the poetic character of early traditions; and he adds, *haec et his similia, utcumque animadversa aut existimata erunt, haud in magno equidem ponam discrimine* (Praef. 8). Livy was far from indifferent as to whether his statements were true, but where it was futile to attempt to sift the evidence he frankly recognizes the situation: *cura non deesset, si qua ad verum via inquirentem ferret* (7. 6. 6). Alleged history he more than once brands as *fabulae* (1. 11. 8; 5. 21. 8); a myth is sometimes rationalized (1. 8. 5). Where his sources were obviously wrong, he attempts corrections (1. 18. 3; 1. 55. 8); between two versions he may allow probability to determine his choice (21. 28. 6); or again where his sources are at variance especially on points of great antiquity he naively follows the majority—a method which at

least has the merit of not trying to make a thinly disguised personal opinion pass for authentic history (1. 24. 1; 46. 4; 6. 42. 6). His very citation of variations is evidence of honest endeavor to arrive at the truth. In some instances his great patriotism carries him to excesses in accepting a version more favorable to Rome (7. 27. 9); or he may dwell upon the picturesque or upon the more impressive event (7. 29; 9. 2. 7 ff.), but in no case does a discreditable personal motive appear; and Livy's declaration (Praef. 5) that no influence or sense of danger could cause him to deviate from the path of truth, is in striking contrast with Cicero's appeal to his friend the historian Lucceius "to stretch the truth a bit" in his favor (ad Fam. 5. 12. 3).

Much interest in the early Roman history has been aroused by excavations in recent years and by the identification of many monuments to which historians of the early period refer. How much belief the modern reader may give to these traditions can not be discussed here, but to the Romans even of the sophisticated classical times the story of the origin of Rome, of the events that followed in the evolution of the state, the manner of men upon whom the state had safely rested for its greatness, all furnished reading of the keenest interest.

V. Style and Syntax

Livy deservedly ranks as a writer of consummate skill. Writing in the Augustan age which was nearly exclusively an age of poetry, he produced an almost perfect prose style. In it, especially in the earlier books, poetry is not wholly divorced from prose, and withal there is such a sympathetic treatment of every theme, such a clever adaptation of language to suit every situation, that it is small wonder that as a stylist he has aroused the greatest admiration in every age. To

Quintilian he was a writer of wonderful eloquence, *mirae facundiae* (8. 1. 3), whom he further characterizes as follows: *cum in narrando mirae iucunditatis clarissimique candoris tum in contionibus supra quam enarrari potest eloquentem; ita quae dicuntur omnia cum rebus tum personis accommodata sunt* (10. 1. 101); to Seneca he was *dissertissimus* (de Ira 1. 20. 6); to Tacitus he was *eloquentissimus* (Agric. 10), and *eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus in primis* (Ann. 4. 34).

The eloquence of his style is secured by smooth, flowing periods which show striking skill in the effectiveness of their word order. There is no monotony of lengthy sentence, for Livy's vivid imagination soon quickens every situation into lively action which the reader seems actually to see. Not the least important means for this effect is seen in the finished speeches interspersed in the work. These and the personal incidents so graphically told give to the work now, as they did in ancient times, one of its greatest charms, the element of human interest.

Livy's diction represents the tendency of his age to vary from the more strict norms of Ciceronian prose. Poetic expressions are more frequent, rhetoric is somewhat more in evidence, and many new usages, or bold advances in older usage, are found. In syntax the following characteristics, as seen in the selections of this edition, may be noted:

1. Nouns. *a.* The genitive as a predicate possessive is freely used: *operae*, Praef. 1; *tutelae*, 1. 6. 4; *potestatis*, 7. 31. 6. *b.* The dative (1) of reference is very much extended and is often practically the equivalent of a poss. gen.: *raptis*, 1. 9. 14; 10. 1; *flectenti*, 1. 48. 6; *Samnitibus*, 7. 33. 6. (2) of purpose, or final dative, is very frequent: *crimini dabant*, 1. 5. 4; *praedae*, 3. 29. 2; *cordi*, 9. 1. 4. With *esse* it is often = a passive voice:

divisui fuere, 1. 54. 9. *c.* The ablative (1) may be used for duration of time: *quibus* (*annis*) *Alba steterat*, 1. 29. 6; cf. 9. 3. 10. (2) Several ablatives are sometimes heaped together in different, or interdependent constructions: *adnuentibus ac vocantibus suis* (and as a result) *favore* (cause) *multorum addito animo*, 1. 12. 10; cf. 1. 34. 11; 7. 32. 1.

2. ADJECTIVES. *a.* Freely used as substantives: *proxima*, Praef. 4; *hostilia*, 1. 59. 4; *immensum*, 5. 37. 5; *iusto*, 9. 17. 1. *b.* As substantive especially in prepositional phrases: *ex infimo*, 1. 9. 3; *in tuto*, 3. 45. 9; *ex aequo*, 7. 30. 2. *c.* The proper adjective is often used as a collective noun: *Romanus*, 1. 29. 6; 9. 2. 5; *Samnis*, 7. 33. 15; 9. 4. 4. *d.* An adjective is frequently equivalent to a noun in the genitive: *puerilem*, 1. 4. 6; *civilem*, 3. 28. 4; *Quinctiano*, 3. 28. 8. *e.* Verbal adjectives in *-bundus* are frequent, though not ordinarily used in the best prose: *venerabundus*, 1. 16. 6; *errabundi*, 1. 29. 3; *deliberabundus*, 1. 54. 6; cf. 3. 46. 8; 47. 3; 7. 33. 18; 9. 17. 17.

3. PREPOSITIONS. *a. Ab* (1) causal, rare before Livy, is extended: *ab honore*, 1. 8. 7; *ab secundis rebus*, 5. 44. 6; *ab memoria*, 5. 47. 11. (2) *Ab* is freely used with names of cities: *ab Tarquiniis*, 1. 34. 5; *ab Ardea*, 5. 46. 7. *b. Ad*, causal: *ad haec*, 2. 23. 7; *ad strepitus*, 5. 47. 3; *ad terrorem*, 9. 2. 5. *c. Circa*=*circum*, 1. 9. 2; 7. 33. 13; =*utrimque*, 1. 4. 6; 9. 2. 7. *d. De* or *ex*, frequent with substantive words to form adjective or adverbial phrases: *ex industria*, 1. 9. 6; *de integro*, 1. 19. 1; *ex insperato*, 1. 25. 9; *de plebe*, 5. 32. 6. *e. In* (1) final, i.e. expressing tendency or purpose, is extended: *in spem*, 1. 8. 4; *in vanos tumultus*, 5. 37. 8. (2) *In* is frequently omitted with the abl., as often in poetry: *sede sedens*, 1. 41. 6; *medio aedium*, 5. 41. 2. *f. Inter*, in a temporal sense: *inter tumultum*, 1. 6. 1; *inter accipiendum aurum*, 9. 11. 6.

g. *Ob*, frequent for inner motive, or where *propter* is more common: *ob iram*, 1. 5. 3; *ob aes alienum*, 2. 23, 1. *h*. *Per*, freely used to form phrases that are often to be rendered as adverbs: *per luxum atque libidinem*, Praef. 12; *per licentiam*, 1. 48. 2; *per vim*, 1. 57. 10.

4. VERBS. *a*. The forms of *esse* are often omitted in the passive: *appellati* (*sunt*), 1. 8. 7; *interfectum* (*esse*), 1. 7. 2; *creati* (*sunt*), 2. 33. 2. *b*. The perf. indic., 3rd plur., often occurs in *ere*, especially in the 1st decade: *tenuere*, 1. 12. 1; *restitere*, 1. 12. 7; *venere*, 3. 38. 1. *c*. The pluperf. passive formed with *fueram* is frequent, as in later Latin: *edictum fuerat*, 1. 29. 6; *dediti fuerant*, 3. 35. 5; *palati fuerant*, 5. 46. 4. *d*. The frequentative formation is common: *fluitantem*, 1. 4. 6: *dictitans*, 1. 6. 1; *venditare*, 3. 35. 5. *e*. The imperf. indic. with *postquam* is more common than in Cicero: *postquam stabant*, 1. 23. 6; *postquam videbat*, 1. 54. 5. *f*. The perf. subjunctive is frequent in illogical sequence, to state a resulting historical fact: *abstulerit*, 1. 16. 1; *decreverit*, 3. 29. 3; *certaverint*, 7. 32. 7. *g*. The iterative subjunctive, expressing a repeated action, first becomes fairly common in Livy: *vellet*, 1. 47. 12; *appellasset*, 3. 36. 8; *avertisset*, 5. 42. 4; cf. 47. 2; 48. 2; 9. 6. 2; 19; 8. *h* The historical infinitive is common: *subsistere*, 1. 4. 9; *dirimere*, 1. 13. 2; *captare*, 3. 37. 1; it is even found (as in Sallust) in *cum* clauses: *cum . . . fieri*, 3. 37. 5. *i*. There is a very much extended use of the gerund as a modal abl. = pres. partic., a usage found largely in poetry before (cf. *Quis talia fando*, Aen. 2. 6): *venando*, 1. 4. 8; *comparando*, 1. 5. 6; *petendo*, 3. 35. 4. *j*. The participle (1) is frequent as the equivalent of an adjectival clause: *ab irato Romulo*, 1. 7. 2; *coeptam magnitudinem*, 1. 8. 6; *agros ante cultos*, 5. 33. 2. (2) is often used as a substantive: *legentium*, Praef. 4; *condentium*, 1. 8. 5; *degeneratum*, 1. 53. 1; *facta*, 3. 47. 2. (3) The future is used

to express, besides simple futurity, intention, likelihood, destiny: *futurae*, Praef. 12; *visuri*, 1. 29. 3; *nec flexuros animos*, 5. 43. 1; *violatura*, 7. 31. 2. (4) With a noun the participle is often the equivalent of an abstract noun with a dependent (usually genitive) case: *ob iram praedae amissae*, 1. 5. 3; *diremptae pacis*, 9. 8. 12; *ducta Tanaquil*, 1. 34. 4; *ex foedere rupto*, 9 1. 3. (5) The partic. often stands alone, a pronoun being supplied, in the abl. abs.: *revocantibus*, 2. 10. 7; *sciscitantibus*, 2. 23. 5, *digredientibus*, 5. 40. 2.

5. PARTICLES. The following are worthy of note: *Ceterum*=*sed*, Praef. 11; 1. 48. 8; 5. 47. 8. *Inde*, or *unde*,=*ex* with abl., 1. 47. 12; 2. 32. 8; 7. 29. 6. *Neque* =*neve*, 3. 44. 5. *Nec*=*et non*, 3. 49. 8; 5. 46. 4; 9. 3. 9.

6. VARIETY OF EXPRESSION is often sought by a change of word or construction: *seu ita rata, seu quia deus . . . honestior erat*, 1. 4. 2; *sacerdos vincta in custodiam datur, pueros in profluentem aquam mitti iubet*, 1. 4. 3; *alii . . . putant; me haud paenitet eorum sententiae esse, quibus . . . placet*, 1. 8. 3.

7. ARCHAIC AND POETIC EXPRESSIONS. These naturally occur more freely in the 1st decade: *Palatio*= *Palatino*, 1. 5. 1; *amnis*, 1. 4. 4; *tempestatibus*, 1. 5. 2; *sospitet*, 1. 16. 3; *infit*, 1. 23. 7; *quaerentibus ratio initur*, 1. 23. 10; *suopte*, 1. 25. 1; *miris modis*, 1. 57. 6; *aperire viam*, 7. 33. 9; *quandoque*, 9. 10.9.

TITI LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

PRAEFATIO.

1 Facturusne operae pretium sim, si a primordio urbis
res populi Romani perscripserim, nec satis scio, nec, si
2 sciam, dicere ausim, quippe qui cum veterem tum vulgatam esse rem videam, dum novi semper scriptores aut
in rebus certius aliquid adlaturos se aut scribendi arte
3 rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt. Utcumque erit,

In this general Preface Livy sets forth his object from a patriotic and from a personal point of view in writing a general history (si a primordio . . . perscripserim) *of Rome. No state was ever greater, none richer in the illustrious deeds of its men; greed and corruption entered it late. The writer, turning for the time from the evils of his own day, will first treat, carefree, the poetic legends and memorable deeds of those earlier ages. For the reader, there will be that wholesome and profitable result that comes from all study of history—guidance to the best and a warning against the worst, both for the individual and his state.*

1. Facturusne . . . sim: ind. quest. after *nec satis scio.* Livy modestly does not know whether the results will be commensurate with his effort. Many Latin sentences end metrically, but this begins with four feet of a hexameter. **operae:** poss. gen.; with *pretium,* "worth the while." **si sciam:** *sciam* in a possible fut. condition, instead of the more natural contrary to fact, as in Cicero's letters, Fam. 8. 9. 1; 15. 1. **ausim:** archaic for *ausus sim.*

2. quippe qui: either *quippe,* or *ut* (cf. 4 below), often introduces a causal relative clause in Livy. **novi semper scriptores:** "new historians, constantly arising." **scribendi arte:** "style of composition," contrasted with *in rebus,* "subject matter."

3. memoriae: dat. with *consuluisse.* It separates the rather awkward group of genitives. **pro virili parte:** "to the best of my ability." **et ipsum:** "myself as well" as the *novi scriptores; et* is frequently so used with *ipse* in Livy, pointing to other actions or persons. **efficient:** the indic. is modestly kept.

iuvabit tamen rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi pro virili parte et ipsum consuluisse; et si in tanta scriptorum turba mea fama in obscuro sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum me, qui nomini officient
4 meo, consoler. Res est praeterea et immensi operis, ut quae supra septingentesimum annum repetatur, et quae ab exiguis profecta initiis eo creverit, ut iam magnitudine laboret sua; et legentium plerisque haud dubito quin primae origines proximaque originibus minus praebitura voluptatis sint festinantibus ad haec nova, quibus iam
5 pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt; ego contra hoc quoque laboris praemium petam, ut me a conspectu malorum, quae nostra tot per annos vidit aetas, tantisper certe, dum prisca illa tota mente repeto, avertam, omnis expers curae, quae scribentis animum etsi non flectere a vero, sollicitum tamen efficere posset.

6 Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec adfirmare nec refellere
7 in animo est. Datur haec venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat; et si cui populo licere oportet consecrare origines suas et ad deos referre auctores, ea belli gloria est populo Romano, ut, cum suum conditorisque sui

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4. **res**: with *quae . . . repetatur*, the state as "the subject" of the undertaking; with *quae . . . creverit* = *res publica* **eo**: = *adeo*. **proxima**: used substantively, as are *nova* and *prisca* below, See Introd. V. 2. *a*. **haec nova**: events of Livy's own day, especially the civil wars. **se ipsae conficiunt**: with *iam pridem* = "have been working their own ruin," The intensive pronoun, though strengthening the reflexive in such a combination, agrees regularly with the subject.

5. **ut . . . avertam**: in appos. with *praemium*. **quae . . . posset**: apodosis of an implied *si haec nova scriberet, itaque non expers curae esset*. The frequent rancor of our own civil war discussions aptly illustrates the point.

6. **condendamve**: i.e. before its founding was even planned. **fabulis**: dat. with *decora*. **ea**: resuming *quae*.

7. **humana**, etc.: see on *proxima* (4). **ea**: = *talis*. **potissimum ferat**: "claims in preference to all others."

parentem Martem potissimum ferat, tam et hoc gentes
humanae patiantur aequo animo, quam imperium
patiuntur.
8 Sed haec et his similia, utcumque animadversa aut
existimata erunt, haud in magno equidem ponam dis-
9 crimine; ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat
animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint, per quos
viros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et
auctum imperium sit; labente deinde paulatim dis-
ciplina velut desidentis primo mores sequatur animo,
deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint
praecipites, donec ad haec tempora, quibus nec vitia
10 nostra nec remedia pati possumus, perventum est. Hoc
illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugi-
ferum, omnis te exempli documenta in inlustri posita
monumento intueri; inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod
imitere capias, inde foedum inceptu, foedum exitu,
quod vites.
11 Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut
nulla umquam res publica nec maior nec sanctior nec
bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam civitatem tam
serae avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint, nec ubi tantus
ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae hŏnos fuerit;
adeo quanto rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat.
12 Nuper divitiae avaritiam et abundantes voluptates desi-
derium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique

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9. ad illa: *ille*, especially in the neut., often refers to what follows; here to the indir. questions. **mihi:** ethical dat.; "I would have each person." **labente . . . perventum est:** the metaphor. which shows three stages of a building that goes to ruin, is dropped at *donec*.

10. documenta: "lessons for guidance" (= *quae docent*). **capias:** the indef. second person: "one may take note of."

11. Ceterum: = *sed*. See Introd. V. 5. **in quam civitatem:** = *civitas, in quam*. **serae:** adj. for adv., while *diu* below is the reverse. **immigraverint . . . fuerit:** subjunctive in characterizing clauses; the perfect for vividness. **rerum:** "property."

12. per luxum atque libidinem: "in wealth and wantonness." **pereundi perdendique omnia:** an apparent desire "of

omnia invexere. Sed querellae, ne tum quidem gratae futurae, cum forsitan necessariae erunt, ab initio certe
13 tantae ordiendae rei absint; cum bonis potius ominibus votisque et precationibus deorum dearumque, si, ut poetis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentius inciperemus, ut orsis tantum operis successus prosperos darent.

going to ruin and of ruining all beside;" oxymoron (contradictory ideas) and paronomasia (similar sounds). **futurae:** see Introd. V. 4. *j.* (3).

13. orsis: sc. *nobis*. **tantum operis:** = *tantum opus*. **darent:** illogical for *dent*, because attracted by *inciperemus*.

TITI LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER I.

1 IV. Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis
maximique secundum deorum opes imperii principium.
2 Vi compressa Vestalis cum geminum partum edidisset,
seu ita rata, seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat,
3 Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec dii
nec homines aut ipsam aut stirpem a crudelitate regia
vindicant; sacerdos vincta in custodiam datur, pueros
4 in profluentem aquam mitti iubet. Forte quadam divin-
itus super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis nec adiri
usquam ad iusti cursum poterat amnis, et posse quamvis

IV-VII. 3. *VIII. THE BIRTH OF ROMULUS AND REMUS; FOUNDING OF ROME.*

After taking up briefly the coming of Aeneas to Italy, Livy refers to the founding of ancient Lavinium and Alba Longa, following the latter account by a list of Alban kings. Finally Numitor Silvius inherits the throne, but is banished by his brother, Amulius, who slays the king's sons and makes the daughter, Rea Silvia, a vestal virgin. This is done ostensibly to honor her, but in reality that there may be no hope of succession to the throne from Numitor's family. The Fates, however, determined the matter.

IV, 1. **debebatur:** with both *origo* and *principium.* **secundum:** prep., "next after."

2. **Vi compressa:** "after being overcome by force." **Vestalis:** Rea Silvia. **rata . . . quia erat:** it is characteristic of Livy to seek variety even in simple constructions. See Introd. V. 6. **honestior:** "more creditable." **incertae:** euphemistic for *spuriae.*

3. **regia:** = *regis,* i.e. Amulius. **sacerdos:** the use of the title emphasizes her guilt. **iubet:** sc. *rex.*

4. **Forte quadam divinitus:** i.e. the gods directed a thing which was apparently accidental. Cf. 5. 49. 1. **effusus:** translate by a rel. clause. This condition of the stream is the basis of the two statements that follow. **iusti:** "regular, proper."

languida mergi aqua infantes spem ferentibus dabat.
5 Ita, velut defuncti regis imperio, in proxima eluvie, ubi
nunc ficus Ruminalis est — Romularem vocatam ferunt
6 —, pueros exponunt. Vastae tum in his locis solitudines
erant. Tenet fama, cum fluitantem alveum, quo expositi
erant pueri, tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, lupam
sitientem ex montibus, qui circa sunt, ad puerilem vagi-
tum cursum flexisse; eam submissas infantibus adeo
mitem praebuisse mammas, ut lingua lambentem pueros
7 magister regii pecoris invenerit — Faustulo fuisse nomen
ferunt —; ab eo ad stabula Larentiae uxori educandos
datos. Sunt, qui Larentiam vulgato corpore lupam inter
pastores vocatam putent; inde locum fabulae ac miraculo
datum.

8 Ita geniti itaque educati, cum primum adolevit
aetas, nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes, venando
9 peragrare saltus. Hinc robore corporibus animisque
sumpto, iam non feras tantum subsistere, sed in latro-
nes praeda onustos impetus facere, pastoribusque rapta

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amnis: poetic for *flumen.* **quamvis languida:** "however still," i.e. *lenibus stagnis.* **infantes:** subj. of *posse,* and suggesting the obj. of *ferentibus.*

5. **velut defuncti:** = *rati ita se defunctos.* **nunc ficus Ruminalis:** not the tree, but traces of it in Livy's day were on the slope of the Palatine opposite the Capitoline. It was probably sacred to *Rumina,* goddess of suckling (*ruma* = *mamma*), because here the young of the flocks often fed. A popular legend then changed its name.

6. **Vastae:** Eng. vast was originally "waste," the sense here. **fluitantem:** note the picture given by the frequentative. **circa:** strictly = *utrimque* **puerilem:** see Introd. V. 2. *d.* **submissas . . . mammas:** "lowered herself so gently to the children for nursing."

7. **Faustulo:** attracted to *ei,* poss. dat., understood. The root idea in the name is "favorer" (*favere*). **ad stabula . . . datos:** i.e. taken to the folds and given. **qui . . . putent:** a characterizing clause. The story was thus rationalized, since Lupa was a nickname for such a debased character. Acca Larentia, however, was given an honorable place in Roman worship. **fabulae ac miraculo:** "for the marvellous story;" hendiadys.

8. **adolevit aetas:** "their age ripened into manhood." Cf. Verg. Aen. 12. 438. **segnes:** concessive. **venando:** abl. of manner. See Introd. V. 4. *i.* **peragrare:** the hist infin. is seldom found singly; note those that follow.

9. **seria ac iocos celebrare:** "they joined in their serious encounters and their sports."

dividere; et cum his, crescente in dies grege iuvenum,
seria ac iocos celebrare.

1 V. Iam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuisse
ludicrum ferunt, et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantium,
2 dein Palatium montem appellatum. Ibi Euandrum, qui
ex eo genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus tenuerit
loca, sollemne adlatum ex Arcadia instituisse, ut nudi
iuvenes Lycaeum Pana venerantes per lusum atque
lasciviam currerent, quem Romani deinde vocaverunt
3 Inuum. Huic deditis ludicro, cum sollemne notum esset,
insidiatos ob iram praedae amissae latrones, cum Ro-
mulus vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse, captum regi
4 Amulio tradidisse ultro accusantes. Crimini maxime
dabant in Numitoris agros ab iis impetus fieri; inde eos
collecta iuvenum manu hostilem in modum praedas agere.
Sic Numitori ad supplicium Remus deditur.

5 Iam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat regiam stir-
pem apud se educari; nam et expositos iussu regis in-
fantes sciebat et tempus, quo ipse eos sustulisset, ad
id ipsum congruere; sed rem immaturam nisi aut per
6 occasionem aut per necessitatem aperire noluerat. Neces-
sitas prior venit; ita metu subactus Romulo rem aperit.

V. 1. **Palatio:** = *Palatino.* **Lupercal hoc ludicrum:** "this festival of ours, the Lupercal." It was a festival of purification (*feb-ruare*) held Feb. 15, and giving to the month its name. **a Pallanteo:** a superficial derivation. The hill was probably the feeding ground (cf. *pascere*) of the shepherds, who had a deity called *Pales.*

2. **eo genere:** = *ea gente,* i.e. Pallanteum. **tempestatibus:** poetic, "seasons, generations." **sollemne:** "custom;" it is followed by an *ut* explanatory clause. **Pana venerantes:** "in their worship of Pan;" Livy then adds the *quem* clause on his own authority as the indic. mode shows.

3. **deditis:** sc. *pastoribus;* construe with *insidiatos.* **ob:** = *propter.* See Introd. V. 3. *g.* **praedae amissae:** obj. gen., "at the loss of their booty." See Introd. V. 4. *j.* (4). **cepisse, captum:** the repetition of a verb in ptcp. form is called epiploce; often as here haste is indicated. **ultro:** emphatic, "actually," i.e. beyond what one would expect.

4. **Crimini:** dat. of purpose; with *dabant,* "they charged." See Introd. V. 1. *b.* (2).

6. **Numitori:** dat. of reference with the whole clause, a more delicate construction than *Numitoris animum* would be. See Introd. V. 1. *b.* (1).

Forte et Numitori, cum in custodia Remum haberet audissetque geminos esse fratres, comparando et aetatem eorum et ipsam minime servilem indolem, tetigerat animum memoria nepotum; sciscitandoque eodem pervenit, ut haud procul esset, quin Remum agnosceret.
7 Ita undique regi dolus nectitur. Romulus non cum globo iuvenum — nec enim erat ad vim apertam par —, sed aliis alio itinere iussis certo tempore ad regiam venire pastoribus ad regem impetum facit, et a domo Numitoris alia comparata manu adiuvat Remus. Ita regem obtruncant.

1 VI. Numitor inter primum tumultum hostis invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam dictitans, cum pubem Albanam in arcem praesidio armisque obtinendam avocasset, postquam iuvenes perpetrata caede pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo advocato concilio scelera in se fratris, originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, caedem deinceps tyranni seque eius
2 auctorem ostendit. Iuvenes per mediam contionem agmine ingressi cum avum regem salutassent, secuta ex omni multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi efficit.

3 Ita Numitori Albana re permissa, Romulum Remumque cupido cepit in iis locis, ubi expositi ubique educati erant, urbis condendae. Et supererat multitudo Albanorum Latinorumque; ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes facile spem facerent parvam

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eodem: "the same conclusion," as Faustulus (5). **sciscitandoque:** see on *fluitantem*. 4. 6. **esset:** = *abesset*, with the *quin* clause as subject.

7. **dolus nectitur:** "the meshes are closing upon." **ad regem:** = *in regem*.

VI. 1. **inter:** "during." The periodic sentence that follows should be divided in translation, since English does not allow so many subordinate constructions. **gratulantes:** "with congratulations."

2. **agmine:** abl. of manner; translate with *ingressi*, "came marching in." **ratum . . . efficit:** "confirmed."

3. **ad id . . . accesserant:** "in addition (to this excess of popula-

Albam, parvum Lavinium prae ea urbe, quae conde-
4 retur, fore. Intervenit deinde his cogitationibus avitum
malum, regni cupido, atque inde foedum certamen,
coortum a satis miti principio. Quoniam gemini essent
nec aetatis verecundia discrimen facere posset, ut dii,
quorum tutelae ea loca essent, auguriis legerent, qui
nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret,
Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inauguran-
dum templa capiunt.

1 VII. Priori Remo augurium venisse fertur, sex vul-
tures, iamque nuntiato augurio cum duplex numerus
Romulo se ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo
consalutaverat; tempore illi praecepto, at hi numero avium
2 regnum trahebant. Inde cum altercatione congressi
certamine irarum ad caedem vertuntur; ibi in turba
ictus Remus cecidit. Vulgatior fama est ludibrio fratris
Remum novos transiluisse muros; inde ab irato Romulo,
cum verbis quoque increpitans adiecisset 'sic deinde,
quicumque alius transiliet moenia mea', interfectum.
3 Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; condita urbs con-
ditoris nomine appellata.

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tion) there were." **qui:** = *ut ii*, introducing a result clause. **parvam . . . parvum:** anaphora.

4. avitum malum: "the misfortune their grandfather had suffered" was due to the same cause. **essent . . . posset:** indirect thought. **ut . . . legerent:** expressing purpose after *capiunt*. **tutelae:** pred. poss. See Introd. V. 1. *a*. **qui:** strictly = *uter*, "which of the two." **templa:** referring to *Palatium* and *Aventinum*. Etymologically *templum* signifies a place "cut off" or "set apart" (**τέμ-νω**); the word was then applied to the building on the kind of place most usually set apart.

VII. **1. Priori:** emphatic. **utrumque . . . consalutaverat:** translate the position and the tense: "each was forthwith saluted." **avium:** with *tempore praecepto*, the earlier time, as well as with *numero*. **trahebant:** sc. *ad se;* "claimed."

2. certamine: causal. **vertuntur:** with middle force, "turn (themselves)." **irato:** = *qui iratus esset*. **sic:** sc. *pereat*.

3. Palatium primum: the settlement upon this hill was undoubtedly the earliest at Rome. Traces of a very early wall, though not so early as of the regal period, are yet visible; but recent excavations on the hill point to a settlement long prior to 753 B.C. **aliis:** = *ceteris*, anticipating the dat. *Herculi*. Note the chiasmus. **Graeco:** sc. *ritu*.

Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit. Sacra diis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Euandro instituta erant, facit.

1 VIII. Rebus divinis rite perpetratis vocataque ad concilium multitudine, quae coalescere in populi unius corpus nulla re praeterquam legibus poterat, iura dedit;
2 quae ita sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, si se ipse venerabilem insignibus imperii fecisset, cum cetero habitu se augustiorem, tum maxime lictoribus
3 duodecim sumptis fecit. Alii ab numero avium, quae augurio regnum portenderant, eum secutum numerum putant; me haud paenitet eorum sententiae esse, quibus et apparitores hoc genus ab Etruscis finitimis, unde sella curulis, unde toga praetexta sumpta est, et numerum quoque ipsum ductum placet; et ita habuisse Etruscos, quod ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege singulos singuli populi lictores dederint.

4 Crescebat interim urbs munitionibus alia atque alia adpetendo loca, cum in spem magis futurae multitudinis
5 quam ad id, quod tum hominum erat, munirent. Deinde, ne vana urbis magnitudo esset, adiciendae multitudinis

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Herculi: one of his twelve labors was to drive off Geryon's cattle from Spain. After reaching the Tiber on his return, Hercules, while sleeping, was robbed of the best cattle by the monster Cacus. Hercules slew Cacus (cf. Aen. 8. 193 ff.), and the local ruler, Evander (5. 2), discovered his identity and dedicated an altar to him, with Greek observances in the *sacra*.

VIII. **1. rite:** "in due form."

2. ita . . . si: "only—if," a common restriction in Livy. **se ipse:** see on Praef. 2. **fecisset:** fut. perf. from the past point of view. **habitu:** "equipment;" abl. of specification.

3. eum: with *numerum*, supplying *Romulum* as obj. of *secutum* (*esse*). The emphasis is on explaining this number. **sententiae:** pred. poss. **quibus . . . placet:** = *qui putant*. **apparitores:** sc. *ductos esse* from *ductum* below. **hoc genus:** "of this kind;" adv. acc. **ita:** i.e. had twelve, as explained in the *quod* clause, referring to the early Etruscan league.

4. cum . . . munirent: causal. **in spem:** the so-called final use of *in*. See Introd. V. 3. *e.* (1). **ad id, quod:** the neut. followed by a partitive gen. emphasizes the slight population of that day.

5. vetere consilio: "following an old device." **condentium:** see Introd. V. 4. *j.* (2). **conciendo:** see on *venando*, 4. 8. **natam,** etc.: this

causa vetere consilio condentium urbes, qui obscuram atque humilem conciendo ad se multitudinem natam e terra sibi prolem ementiebantur, locum, qui nunc saeptus descendentibus inter duos lucos est, asylum
6 aperit. Eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, avida novarum rerum perfugit, idque primum ad coeptam magnitudinem roboris fuit. Cum iam virium haud paeniteret, con-
7 silium deinde viribus parat. Centum creat senatores, sive quia is numerus satis erat, sive quia soli centum erant, qui creari patres possent. Patres certe ab honore, patriciique progenies eorum appellati.

1 IX. Iam res Romana adeo erat valida, ut cuilibet finitimarum civitatum bello par esset; sed penuria mulierum hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat, quippe quibus nec domi spes prolis nec cum finitimis conubia

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is an evidence of the tendency, introduced by the philosopher Euhemerus, to rationalize such myths as the story of Cadmus and the dragon's teeth. **qui . . . est**: "which now is the enclosure between the two groves as you go down the hill." The site of the retreat was between the two spurs of the Capitoline, and therefore apart from the houses of the Palatine (7. 3). **descendentibus**: the dat. of reference when expressing local relations is usually plural.

6. id: referring to *turba*, but attracted to the idea in the partitive gen. *roburis*. **ad**: i.e. "in the direction of." **coeptam**: see Introd. V. 4. *j*. (1). **consilium**: meaning "guidance" as embodied in his advisory senate.

7. soli centum: according to tradition only the heads of the hundred *gentes* were chosen. **certe**: frequently used by Livy after reaching surer ground; cf. *certe, id quod satis constat*, 48. 5. **ab honore**: "because of the political distinction." See Introd. V. 3. *a*. (1).

IX-XIII. SEIZURE OF THE SABINE WOMEN.

The earliest outside influence upon the Roman settlement seems to have come from the nearby Sabines. To what extent the state was indebted for Sabine institutions cannot be determined, but the myth of the seizure of the Sabine women, explaining as it does, the form of bride seizure in the Roman wedding and the nuptial cry "Talassio," may well illustrate Roman consciousness of their indebtedness in one particular.

IX. **1. penuria**: "owing to the small number." **quippe**: see on Praef. 2. **quibus**: poss. dat. in the causal clause. Cf. 1. 5. The plur. is a sense agreement with *res*

2 essent. Tum ex consilio patrum Romulus legatos circa
vicinas gentes misit, qui societatem conubiumque novo
3 populo peterent: urbes quoque, ut cetera, ex infimo
nasci; dein, quas sua virtus ac dii iuvent, magnas opes
4 sibi magnumque nomen facere; satis scire origini
Romanae et deos adfuisse et non defuturam virtutem;
proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus sangui-
5 nem ac genus miscere. Nusquam benigne legatio audita
est; adeo simul spernebant, simul tantam in medio cres-
centem molem sibi ac posteris suis metuebant. A ple-
risque rogitantibus dimissi, ecquod feminis quoque
asylum aperuissent; id enim demum compar conu-
bium fore.

6 Aegre id Romana pubes passa, et haud dubie ad
vim spectare res coepit. Cui tempus locumque aptum
ut daret Romulus, aegritudinem animi dissimulans, ludos
ex industria parat Neptuno equestri sollemnis; Con-
7 sualia vocat. Indici deinde finitimis spectaculum iubet,
quantoque apparatu tum sciebant aut poterant, con-

Romana. **conubia:** the right of intermarriage with neighbors was subject to agreement by treaty.

2. circa: = *circum.*

3. urbes . . . nasci: sc. *dixerunt.* Observe the rhetorical structure of the plea; a general premise, a particular one, the special application, the conclusion. **ex infimo:** "from a small beginning." See Introd. V. 2. *b.* **quas:** sc. *urbes.* Rhetorically *eas* should follow as the subject of *facere.*

4. satis scire: sc. *se;* "they knew full well." The application is made in the reverse (chiastic) order of the words in the *quas . . . iuvent* clause. **proinde:** often used with a subjunctive or an imperative at the end of a speech in giving the conclusion. **ne gravarentur:** a prohibition. **homines cum hominibus:** note the rhetorical effect to show that the plea was on a humanity basis.

5. spernebant: "did they reject;" the subject is *finitimi.* **A plerisque rogitantibus:** "by many with the question." **ecquod:** indef. interrog. with *asylum.* **compar:** i.e. on the same social plane; strongly ironical.

6. passa: sc. *est;* with *aegre,* "were angry at." **Cui:** referring to *vim.* **equestri:** from the Gr. **Ποσειδῶν Ἵππιος**, "Poseidon creator of the horse." **Consualia:** "games in honor of Consus." This is either an earlier Italic name for Neptune, or, as is more likely, Livy has confused two events that were similar in the racing feature.

7. indici: in modern terms, "to be advertised."

8 celebrant, ut rem claram expectatamque facerent. Multi
mortales convenere, studio etiam videndae novae urbis,
maxime proximi quique, Caeninenses, Crustumini, Antem-
9 nates; iam Sabinorum omnis multitudo cum liberis ac
coniugibus venit. Invitati hospitaliter per domos cum
situm moeniaque et frequentem tectis urbem vidissent,
10 mirantur tam brevi rem Romanam crevisse. Ubi spectaculi
tempus venit, deditaeque eo mentes cum oculis erant,
tum ex composito orta vis, signoque dato iuventus
11 Romana ad rapiendas virgines discurrit. Magna pars
forte, in quem quaeque inciderat, raptae; quasdam forma
excellentes primoribus patrum destinatas ex plebe
homines, quibus datum negotium erat, domos deferebant;
12 unam longe ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem
a globo Talassii cuiusdam raptam ferunt, multisque
sciscitantibus, cuinam eam ferrent, identidem, ne quis
violaret, Talassio ferri clamitatum; inde nuptialem hanc
vocem factam.

13 Turbato per metum ludicro maesti parentes vir-
ginum profugiunt, incusantes violati hospitii foedus
deumque invocantes, cuius ad sollemne ludosque per

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8. proximi quique: the plur. of a superl. with a strengthening *quisque* is rare, but the other plurals in the passage have influenced the form. **Caeninenses**, etc.: citizens respectively of Caenina, Crustumerium, and Antemnae, nearby towns.

9. iam: "finally." **frequentem tectis:** "with its numerous buildings."

10. deditaeque, etc.: i.e. their whole attention was directed thither.

11. forte, . . . inciderat: "at random, by the one into whose hands each maiden chanced to fall." **raptae:** a sense agreement with *pars*. **ex plebe:** = *plebeii*, with *homines*. Livy fails to think of even an early Rome without its plebeians.

12. multisque . . . ferrent: "and when various ones asked for whom they were taking her." **identidem . . . clamitatum:** note the emphasized frequentative. **Talassio:** the whole purpose of this aetiological myth lies in this dative. In Livy's day the word "Talassio" (*nuptialem hanc vocem*) was shouted as the bride entered the groom's home. No one really knew its origin, but this invention "explained" it.

13. ludicro: = *spectaculo*. **per fas ac fidem:** "against right and honor," referring chiastically to *hospitii* and *deum*. **venissent:** subjunct. of indir. thought; as they said in their complaints.

14 fas ac fidem decepti venissent. Nec raptis aut spes de se melior aut indignatio est minor. Sed ipse Romulus circumibat, docebatque patrum id superbia factum, qui conubium finitimis negassent: illas tamen in matrimonio, in societate fortunarum omnium civitatisque et, quo
15 nihil carius humano generi sit, liberum fore; mollirent modo iras et, quibus fors corpora dedisset, darent animos. Saepe ex iniuria postmodum gratiam ortam, eoque melioribus usuras viris, quod adnisurus pro se quisque sit, ut, cum suam vicem functus officio sit, parentium
16 etiam patriaeque expleat desiderium. Accedebant blanditiae virorum factum purgantium cupiditate atque amore, quae maxime ad muliebre ingenium efficaces preces sunt.

1 X. Iam admodum mitigati animi raptis erant; at raptarum parentes tum maxime sordida veste lacrimisque et querellis civitates concitabant. Nec domi tantum indignationes continebant, sed congregabantur undique ad T. Tatium, regem Sabinorum, et legationes eo, quod maximum Tatii nomen in iis regionibus erat, convenie-
2 bant. Caeninenses Crustuminique et Antemnates erant, ad quos eius iniuriae pars pertinebat. Lente agere his Tatius Sabinique visi sunt; ipsi inter se tres populi com-
3 muniter bellum parant. Ne Crustumini quidem atque Antemnates pro ardore iraque Caeninensium satis se

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14. **raptis:** see Introd. V. 1. *b*. (1). Practically = *raptarum* (cf. 10. 1). **in societate** (*fore*): "would share the possession of." **quo . . . sit:** parenthetical, anticipating *liberum* (= *liberorum*).

15. **postmodum:** = *postea*. **eoque . . . viris:** "they would find their husbands all the kinder." **suam vicem:** "on his own account;" adv. acc.

16. **Accedebant:** "besides (his plea) there were." See on 6. 3. **factum . . . amore:** "who sought to explain their act on the plea of passionate love." **quae . . . preces:** = *preces, quae*. An antecedent referring in a general way to what precedes is regularly included in the rel. clause.

X. 1. **sordida:** a sign of grief and distress. **indignationes:** "expressions of indignation." **eo:** = *ad eum*.

3. **Antemnates:** just as emphatic as *Crustumini*, but *ne . . . quidem*

impigre movent; ita per se ipsum nomen Caeninum in
4 agrum Romanum impetum facit. Sed effuse vastan-
tibus fit obvius cum exercitu Romulus, levique certa-
mine docet vanam sine viribus iram esse. Exercitum
fundit fugatque, fusum persequitur; regem in proelio
obtruncat et spoliat; duce hostium occiso urbem primo
impetu capit.

5 Inde exercitu victore reducto ipse, cum factis vir
magnificus tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia
ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id apte fer-
culo gerens in Capitolium escendit, ibique ea cum ad
quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono
designavit templo Iovis finis, cognomenque addidit deo.
6 'Iuppiter Feretri,' inquit, 'haec tibi victor Romulus rex
regia arma fero, templumque his regionibus, quas modo
animo metatus sum, dedico, sedem opimis spoliis, quae
regibus ducibusque hostium caesis me auctorem sequentes
7 posteri ferent.' Haec templi est origo, quod primum
omnium Romae sacratum est. Ita deinde diis visum,
nec inritam conditoris templi vocem esse, qua laturos
eo spolia posteros nuncupavit, nec multitudine com-

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must not be separated too far. **ipsum:** probably nom. See on *ipsae*, Praef. 4. **nomen Caeninum:** a political designation, as *nomen Latinum*, "the Latin people."

4. **fundit fugatque fusum:** a frequent combination in Livy. See on 5. 3.

5. **ostentator:** "a parader." Colloquial. **fabricato . . . apte ferculo:** "upon a barrow expressly built." This is a primitive form of the triumphal procession, as Romulus mounts to the hill, where there is, of course, no temple as yet.

6. **Feretri:** Livy obviously means to connect this ancient *cognomen* with *fero;* others suggest *ferire*, i.e. *dux ferit ense ducem*. **Romulus rex regia:** note the formality. **templum:** see on 6. 4. The building afterwards erected fell into decay, and was restored by Augustus about 32 B. C.: *aedem Feretrii Iovis, quam vetustate dilapsam refecit* (4. 20. 7). **sedem:** "as a place of deposit." **opimis spoliis:** according to tradition "spoils of honor" were only those taken from one leader by another (4. 20. 6). **me auctorem:** "my example."

7. **Ita:** explained by the two infin. clauses introduced by *nec . . . nec;* these are logically the subject of *visum*. **nec . . . laudem:** "that the praise gained from the offering of this gift should not be cheapened by the number of those sharing it."

potum eius doni vulgari laudem. Bina postea inter tot annos, tot bella opima parta sunt spolia; adeo rara eius fortuna decoris fuit.

1 XI. Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antemnatium exercitus per occasionem ac solitudinem hostiliter in fines Romanos incursionem facit. Raptim et ad hos Romana
2 legio ducta palatos in agris oppressit. Fusi igitur primo impetu et clamore hostes, oppidum captum; duplicique victoria ovantem Romulum Hersilia coniunx precibus raptarum fatigata orat, ut parentibus earum det veniam et in civitatem accipiat: ita rem coalescere concordia
3 posse. Facile impetratum. Inde contra Crustuminos profectus bellum inferentes. Ibi minus etiam, quod
4 alienis cladibus ceciderant animi, certaminis fuit. Utroque coloniae missae; plures inventi, qui propter ubertatem terrae in Crustuminum nomina darent. Et Romam inde frequenter migratum est, a parentibus maxime ac propinquis raptarum.

5 Novissimum ab Sabinis bellum ortum, multoque id maximum fuit; nihil enim per iram aut cupiditatem actum est, nec ostenderunt bellum prius quam intule-
6 runt. Consilio etiam additus dolus. Sp. Tarpeius Romanae praeerat arci. Huius filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tatius, ut armatos in arcem accipiat — aquam forte ea tum sacris extra moenia petitum ierat —;

Bina: distributives instead of cardinals are used with such words as *spolia*, *castra*, *litterae*, which are plur. in form only. The honor was accorded A. Cornelius Cossus in 428 B. C. and M. Claudius Marcellus in 222 B. C.

XI. **1. per:** "taking advantage of." Hendiadys follows. **legio:** the cognate in Eng. would be anachronistic.

2. civitatem: "free citizenship." **rem:** = *rem publicam*.

3. impetratum: sc. *est*. **alienis:** distinguish from *aliis*.

4. Utroque: the last two; Caenina is omitted.

5. maximum: the smaller encounters were purposely disposed of first.

6. virginem: in the simplest terms a daughter of Tarpeius betrays the citadel; as the story grew (note the interrupted epiploce *accipiet . . . accepti*) she is represented as a Vestal virgin who had gone to get water for the sacred rites.

7 accepti obrutam armis necavere, seu ut vi capta potius
arx videretur, seu prodendi exempli causa, ne quid
8 usquam fidum proditori esset. Additur fabula, quod
vulgo Sabini aureas armillas magni ponderis bracchio
laevo gemmatosque magna specie anulos habuerint,
pepigisse eam, quod in sinistris manibus haberent; eo
9 scuta illi pro aureis donis congesta. Sunt, qui eam ex
pacto tradendi, quod in sinistris manibus esset, derecto
arma petisse dicant, et fraude visam agere sua ipsam
peremptam mercede.

1 XII. Tenuere tamen arcem Sabini, atque inde postero
die, cum Romanus exercitus instructus quod inter Palatinum Capitolinumque collem campi est complesset, non
prius descenderunt in aequum, quam ira et cupiditate
recuperandae arcis stimulante animos in adversum
2 Romani subiere. Principes utrimque pugnam ciebant,
ab Sabinis Mettius Curtius, ab Romanis Hostius Hostilius. Hic rem Romanam iniquo loco ad prima signa
3 animo atque audacia substinebat. Ut Hostius cecidit,
confestim Romana inclinatur acies, fusaque est ad vete-

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7. obrutam: sc. *eam.*

8. Additur fabula: here and at *Sunt, qui* below are introduced, from two different sources, phases of the story that Livy does not accept. **armillas:** "bracelets." The ornaments here mentioned suit the later ideas about the Gauls rather than the simple Sabines. **eo:** "accordingly." The Sabines make their own interpretation of the terms by throwing their shields upon her.

9. ex pacto tradendi: "by the compact that they give her." **arma petisse:** i.e. to disarm them. This more honorable interpretation fits the tradition that Tarpeia's grave was upon the Capitoline and that yearly libations were made to her. **fraude . . . agere:** "when she was seen to be acting treacherously." **sua . . . mercede:** instr. abl. with *peremptam* (*esse*). In this version Tarpeia claimed the shields as her meaning of the *quod . . . esset* clause, but they were delivered in the wrong way.

XII. **1. Tenuere:** in translating bring out the emphasis; so with *restitere* below (7). **campi:** part. gen. with *quod.* The later Forum was thus on this very site (cf. 8.). **in adversum:** sc. *collem,* suggested by *subiere.*

2. ab Sabinis: "on the Sabine side." **iniquo:** concessive.

3. portam: the *Porta Mugonia,* the nearest of the three gates of the original settlement on the Palatine.

4 rem portam Palatii. Romulus et ipse turba fugientium
actus, arma ad caelum tollens, 'Iuppiter, tuis' inquit
'iussus avibus hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta ieci.
Arcem iam scelere emptam Sabini habent; inde huc
5 armati superata media valle tendunt; at tu, pater deum
hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes, deme terrorem
6 Romanis fugamque foedam siste. Hic ego tibi templum
Statori Iovi, quod monumentum sit posteris tua prae-
7 senti ope servatam urbem esse, voveo.' Haec precatus,
velut si sensisset auditas preces, 'hinc' inquit, 'Romani,
Iuppiter optimus maximus resistere atque iterare pug-
nam iubet.'

Restitere Romani tamquam caelesti voce iussi; ipse
8 ad primores Romulus provolat. Mettius Curtius ab
Sabinis princeps ab arce decucurrerat, et effusos
egerat Romanos, toto quantum foro spatium est. Nec
procul iam a porta Palatii erat clamitans: 'vicimus per-
fidos hospites, imbelles hostes; iam sciunt longe aliud
9 esse virgines rapere, aliud pugnare cum viris.' In eum
haec gloriantem cum globo ferocissimorum iuvenum
Romulus impetum facit. Ex equo tum forte Mettius
pugnabat; eo pelli facilius fuit. Pulsum Romani perse-
quuntur; et alia Romana acies audacia regis accensa
10 fundit Sabinos. Mettius in paludem sese strepitu sequen-
tium trepidante equo coniecit; averteratque ea res etiam
Sabinos tanti periculo viri. Et ille quidem, adnuentibus

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4. et ipse: "too," as well as the army. See on Praef. 3. **superata:** i.e. already gained and passed.

5. arce: from *arceo*. **Romanis:** so-called dat. of separation.

6. Statori Iovi: the usual order reversed to emphasize the connection with the causative *sistere* = "make stand, stay." The foundation of this temple thus ascribed to Romulus has been excavated near the arch of Titus.

8. hospites . . . hostes: such a play upon words, or paronomasia, is common in Latin. **longe aliud . . . aliud:** perhaps excited emphasis for *longe aliud ac*, "a far different thing from."

9. eo . . . facilius: "all the easier." **pelli:** sc. *eum*. **alia . . . acies:** "the rest of the line."

10. strepitu: causal with *trepidante*. **quidem:** contrasting his escape with the general result.

ac vocantibus suis, favore multorum addito animo, evadit; Romani Sabinique in media convalle duorum montium redintegrant proelium. Sed res Romana erat superior.

1 XIII. Tum Sabinae mulieres, quarum ex iniuria bellum ortum erat, crinibus passis scissaque veste, victo malis muliebri pavore, ausae se inter tela volantia inferre,
2 ex transverso impetu facto dirimere infestas acies, dirimere iras, hinc patres hinc viros orantes, ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent, ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, hi liberum pro-
3 geniem. 'Si adfinitatis inter vos, si conubii piget, in nos vertite iras; nos causa belli, nos vulnerum ac caedium viris ac parentibus sumus; melius peribimus quam
4 sine alteris vestrum viduae aut orbae vivemus.' Movet res cum multitudinem tum duces. Silentium et repentina fit quies, inde ad foedus faciendum duces prodeunt, nec pacem modo, sed civitatem unam ex duabus faciunt,
5 regnum consociant, imperium omne conferunt Romam. Ita geminata urbe, ut Sabinis tamen aliquid daretur,

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adnuentibus . . . addito: two abl. abs., and with the second a causal *favore*, summarizing the first. See Introd. V. 1. *c.* (2).

XIII. **1. quarum:** objective gen. **inferre:** after the participle *ausae*, while *dirimere* below is hist. inf. **ex . . . facto:** "rushing in from the side."

2. iras: = *iratos*. **hinc . . . hinc:** as in Verg. for *hinc . . . illinc*. **illi, hi:** repeating *soceri generique*. **nepotum . . . liberum:** appos. gen.; their offspring, "grandsons for the one side, for the other their sons."

3. Si, etc.: for the effect of the passage, note the sudden change to direct discourse, the anaphora of *si* and *nos*, the brachylogy *melius peribimus* (= *melius est, ut pereamus*), and the graphic use of *viduae* and *orbae*.

4. Movet: the emphatic position implies instant effect.

5. Quirites a Curibus: Cures was the chief Sabine town (mod. Correse), but this etymology is doubtful. Another ancient derivation was from the Sabine *quiris*, a lance, i.e. "the spearmen." In classical Latin, however, *Quirites* is often the opposite of *milites;* so Caes. calls his mutinous men *Quirites*, in modern parlance, "quitters" (Suetonius, Jul. 70). **appellati:** both people, implied in *geminata urbe*. **Curtium lacum:** see on 12. 6. Later on (7. 6. 3.) Livy inclines to the more common story connecting the name with M. Curtius, who devoted himself in the Forum in 362 B. C. The site of Lacus Curtius was discovered in April, 1904.

Quirites a Curibus appellati. Monumentum eius pugnae, ubi primum ex profunda emersus palude equus Curtium in vado statuit, Curtium lacum appellarunt.

6 Ex bello tam tristi laeta repente pax cariores Sabinas viris ac parentibus et ante omnes Romulo ipsi fecit. Itaque, cum populum in curias triginta divideret, nomina
7 earum curiis imposuit. Id non traditur, cum haud dubie aliquanto numerus maior hoc mulierum fuerit, aetate an dignitatibus suis virorumve an sorte lectae sint, quae
8 nomina curiis darent. Eodem tempore et centuriae tres equitum conscriptae sunt: Ramnenses ab Romulo, ab T. Tatio Titienses appellati; Lucerum nominis et originis causa incerta est. Inde non modo commune sed concors etiam regnum duobus regibus fuit.

6 XV. Haec ferme Romulo regnante domi militiaeque gesta, quorum nihil absonum fidei divinae originis divinitatisque post mortem creditae fuit, non animus in regno avito recuperando, non condendae urbis consi-

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6. **tristi laeta:** note the contrast. **curias:** civil divisions, formed theoretically of *gentes* related by birth or customs, but scarcely thirty in number at this early period. The oldest popular assembly at Rome was the *comitia curiata.* **nomina earum:** of the curial names that survive, some are clearly derived from localities. Others, however, suggest names of women, and one, Rapta, is very significant.

7. **Id:** anticipates the indir. quest. **hoc:** i.e. than thirty.

8. **centuriae:** = *centumviriae,* a division of one hundred men. **Ramnenses** etc.: the derivations given are quite fanciful, but the Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres represent the most ancient patrician divisions. **concors:** their harmonious reign was after several years terminated by the killing of Tatius by a mob, because he had seemingly connived at the maltreatment of Laurentian ambassadors. Romulus as sole ruler gained victories over two Etruscan cities, Fidenae and Veii.

XV. 6-XVI. ESTIMATE OF ROMULUS; HIS DEIFICATION.

Livy is here clearly conscious of a tradition, perhaps republican in origin, that Romulus became tyrannical in his later years. No act of his was inconsistent with his divine origin or his alleged deification after death. The vision of Julius Proculus supports the story of his translation.

XV. 6. **fidei:** dat. after *absonum,* and followed by obj. gen. **non animus,** etc.: amplifying *quorum nihil.*

7 lium, non bello ac pace firmandae. Ab illo enim pro-
fecto viribus datis tantum valuit, ut in quadraginta
8 deinde annos tutam pacem haberet. Multitudini tamen
gratior fuit quam patribus, longe ante alios acceptissimus
militum animis; trecentosque armatos ad custodiam
corporis, quos Celeres appellavit, non in bello solum sed
etiam in pace habuit.

1 XVI. His immortalibus editis operibus cum ad exerci-
tum recensendum contionem in campo ad Caprae paludem
haberet, subito coorta tempestas cum magno fragore
tonitribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo, ut con-
spectum eius contioni abstulerit; nec deinde in terris
2 Romulus fuit. Romana pubes sedato tandem pavore,
postquam ex tam turbido die serena et tranquilla lux
rediit, ubi vacuam sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis cre-
debat patribus, qui proximi steterant, sublimem rap-
tum procella, tamen velut orbitatis metu icta maestum
3 aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde a paucis initio
facto deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbis
Romanae salvere universi Romulum iubent; pacem preci-
bus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet
progeniem.

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7. Ab illo: after *datis.* **valuit:** sc. *urbs.* **deinde:** "thereafter;" i.e. the profound peace of Numa's reign was due to Romulus.

8. Celeres: perhaps the *equites* of 13. 8. The name was variously derived by the ancients from *celeritas*, or from Celer, their first commander.

XVI. **1. editis:** = *factis.* **campo:** the *campus Martius* of later date. **magno fragore tonitribusque:** note the sound and the hendiadys; "loud crashing of thunder." **contioni:** dat. of separation. **abstulerit:** with the perf. the result is stated more as an historical fact, without strict reference to sequence of tenses; = *ut dicere liceat, eum ablatum esse.*

2. turbido die: we should say "violent storm." **raptum:** sc. *esse*, after the implied verb of saying. Another tradition denies the translation of Romulus, and refers to his burial in the Forum. An alleged "tomb of Romulus" was discovered near the Rostra in Jan., 1899.

3. deum: later identified with the Sabine war-god, Quirinus. **uti . . . sospitet:** archaic for *ut . . . servet.* The archaisms, asyndeton (*volens propitius*), and alliteration show the formulaic character.

4 Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos, qui discerptum
regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent — manavit enim
haec quoque sed perobscura fama —; illam alteram
5 admiratio viri et pavor praesens nobilitavit. Et con-
silio etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides. Namque
Proculus Iulius, sollicita civitate desiderio regis et infensa
patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnae rei auctor,
6 in contionem prodit. 'Romulus' inquit, 'Quirites,
parens urbis huius, prima hodierna luce caelo repente
delapus se mihi obvium dedit. Cum perfusus horrore
venerabundus adstitissem, petens precibus, ut contra
7 intueri fas esset, 'abi, nuntia' inquit 'Romanis caelestes
ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit; proinde
rem militarem colant, sciantque et ita posteris tradant
nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse.'
8 'Haec' inquit 'locutus sublimis abiit.' Mirum, quantum
illi viro nuntianti haec fides fuerit quamque desiderium
Romuli apud plebem exercitumque facta fide immor-
talitatis lenitum sit.

1 XVIII. Inclita iustitia religioque ea tempestate
Numae Pompili erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabat, con-

4. **tum quoque:** an open charge of the plebeians later. Cf. 15. 8. **manavit:** "spread." The metaphor is from a trickling stream. **perobscura:** "only darkly hinted at," in contrast with *nobilitavit*.

5. **fides:** "confirmation." **gravis . . . auctor:** "an authority of weight for any report however important."

6. **perfusus horrore:** "filled with awe." The identical metaphor ("drenched") is impossible. **venerabundus:** see Introd. V. 2. *e*. **contra:** "face to face," a mark of favor for a mortal.

7. **proinde:** see on 9. 4. **nullas opes,** etc.: a belief in their "manifest destiny" gained many a victory for the Romans.

8. **mirum:** sc. *est*. **quantum:** "to what degree," adverbial and parallel to *quam*, each introducing an indir. quest.

The first interregnum follows, with strife between the Sabine and the Roman factions as to which shall name a successor to Romulus. The plebeians for the first time become a factor and demand a king, rather than interreges, *a board of interim rulers; they demand the right to elect him, which is granted, provided the patricians ratify the choice.*

XVIII. 1. 5. *XIX.* 1-5. *XX. XXI.* 1. 2. 6. *XXII.* 1. 2. *THE PEACEFUL REIGN OF NUMA.*

XVIII. 1. **tempestate:** see on 5. 2. **Numae Pompili:** these words

sultissimus vir, ut in illa quisquam esse aetate poterat,
omnis divini atque humani iuris.
5 Audito nomine Numae patres Romani quamquam
inclinari opes ad Sabinos rege inde sumpto videbantur,
tamen neque se quisquam nec factionis suae alium nec
denique patrum aut civium quemquam praeferre illi
viro ausi, ad unum omnes Numae Pompilio regnum
deferendum decernunt.
1 XIX. Qui regno potitus urbem novam, conditam vi
et armis, iure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro con-
2 dere parat. Quibus cum inter bella adsuescere videret
non posse, quippe efferari militia animos, mitigandum
ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus, Ianum ad
infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellique fecit, apertus
ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes
3 populos significaret. Bis deinde post Numae regnum
clausus fuit, semel T. Manlio consule post Punicum
primum perfectum bellum, iterum, quod nostrae aetati
dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum, ab
imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parta.
4 Clauso eo cum omnium circa finitimorum societate ac

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suggest **νόμος**, "law," and **πομπή**, "Procession." Numa is therefore the lawgiver and founder of religious ceremonies (19. 1). **consultissimus:** with obj. gen., as in the more restricted *iuris consultus*, "jurist." **ut:** restrictive; it gives the negative idea always expressed or implied with *quisquam*.

5. rege . . . sumpto: with conditional force. **ad unum:** "to a man."

XIX. **1. eam:** resumes *urbem*.

2. adsuescere: the subj. is general, "men." **efferari:** "were made savage." **Ianum:** an arched passageway, with two gates, near the Forum. A statue of *Ianus bifrons* stood within, facing east and west. **ad infimum:** "at the foot of."

3. clausus fuit: "has it been closed." **semel:** in 235 B. C. **quod . . . videremus:** parenthetical, the antecedent being in *iterum*. **post . . . Actiacum:** two years after, in 29 B. C. **Augusto:** this title was conferred upon Octavian by the senate in Jan., 27 B. C. This date is significant here, since Livy's work must be dated by internal evidence. The first book was clearly not published before 27 B. C.; nor after 25 B. C., unless a third closing of Ianus in that year has been omitted. The tone of the whole passage is against such an assumption.

4. rem . . . efficacissimam: in appos. with *deorum metum*.

foederibus iunxisset animos, positis externorum periculorum curis ne luxuriarent otio animi, quos metus hostium disciplinaque militaris continuerat, omnium primum, rem ad multitudinem imperitam et illis saeculis rudem efficacissimam, deorum metum iniciendum ratus
5 est. Qui cum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse; eius se monitu, quae acceptissima diis essent, sacra instituere, sacerdotes suos cuique deorum praeficere.

1 XX. Tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adiecit, quamquam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maxime, quae
2 nunc ad Dialem flaminem pertinent. Sed quia in civitate bellicosa plures Romuli quam Numae similes reges putabat fore, iturosque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiae vicis desererentur, flaminem Iovi adsiduum sacerdotem creavit, insignique eum veste et curuli regia sella adornavit. Huic duos flamines adiecit, Marti unum,
3 alterum Quirino; virginesque Vestae legit, Alba oriundum sacerdotium et genti conditoris haud alienum. Iis, ut adsiduae templi antistites essent, stipendium de publico statuit, virginitate aliisque caerimoniis venera-

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5. Qui: sc. *metus*. **descendere ad:** "sink into." **commento:** "invention." **Egeria:** a nymph. **suos:** "appropriate, special." **cuique deorum:** = *sacris cuiusque deorum;* brachylogy.

XX. **1. obibat:** "was wont to perform." **Dialem:** from the stem **div,** "sky," as in archaic *Diespiter* for *Iuppiter*. The *flamen Dialis* (see on 12. 6) was the chief high priest of Jupiter.

2. ituros: "would likely go," thus leaving the *sacra* belonging to the king's office (*regiae vicis*) unattended. **adsiduum:** "regularly resident." He was not permitted to be absent from Rome a single night.

3. virgines: originally four, later six, who were bound to their service thirty years. Their home, the *Atrium Vestae*, has been excavated in recent years. **sacerdotium . . . haud alienum:** "a priestly office not unknown to." Either Numa gave new significance to the worship, or this honor is too zealously assigned to him, for it practically ignores Rea Silvia and the report that Aeneas brought the worship of Vesta from Troy. Cf. Verg. Aen. 2. 296. **de publico:** sc. *aerario*, "from the state's funds." **aliisque caerimoniis:** "and likewise by various distinctions."

4 biles ac sanctas fecit. Salios item duodecim Marti
Gradivo legit, tunicaeque pictae insigne dedit et super
tunicam aeneum pectori tegumen caelestiaque arma,
quae ancilia appellantur, ferre ac per urbem ire canentes
5 carmina cum tripudiis sollemnique saltatu iussit. Ponti-
ficem deinde Numam Marcium, Marci filium, ex patri-
bus legit, eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque
attribuit, quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quae templa
sacra fierent, atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia
6 erogaretur. Cetera quoque omnia publica privataque
sacra pontificis scitis subiecit, ut esset, quo consultum
plebes veniret, ne quid divini iuris neglegendo patrios
7 ritus peregrinosque adsciscendo turbaretur; nec cae-
lestes modo caerimonias, sed iusta quoque funebria
placandosque manes ut idem pontifex edoceret, quaeque
prodigia fulminibus aliove quo visu missa susciperentur
atque curarentur. Ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis
Iovi Elicio aram in Aventino dicavit deumque consu-
luit auguriis, quae suscipienda essent.

1 XXI. Ad haec consultanda procurandaque multi-
tudine omni a vi et armis conversa, et animi aliquid
agendo occupati erant, et deorum adsidua insidens cura,
cum interesse rebus humanis caeleste numen videretur, ea
pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac ius iuran-

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4. **Salios**: for the meaning of the name, cf. *saltatu* below. **tunicae**: appos. to *insigne*. **ancilia**: according to tradition a sacred shield had fallen from heaven, a token of power for Rome while in her possession. Numa shrewdly had eleven duplicates made to lessen the chances of its being lost. **canentes**: "chanting." These Saliaric hymns, some fragments of which are still extant, were not understood even by Livy's contemporaries.

5. **exscripta exsignataque**: "duly copied and sealed." The greatest accuracy was necessary in the details of a formal worship, that he might know, e. g., with what victims, etc.

6. **quo**: = *is, ad quem*. **consultum**: supine.

7. **aliove . . . visu**: "or by any other manifestation."

XXI. 1. **adsidua insidens cura**: "constant, all absorbing worship." **fides ac ius iurandum**: a high sense of honor, seen especially in their regard for their oaths. **proximo . . . metu**: abl. abs. They were ruled by motives of right, with

dum proximo legum ac poenarum metu civitatem rege-
2 rent. Et cum ipsi se homines in regis, velut unici exempli, mores formarent, tum finitimi etiam populi, qui antea castra, non urbem positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt, ut civitatem totam in cultum versam deorum violare ducerent nefas.

6 Ita duo deinceps reges, alius alia via, ille bello hic pace, civitatem auxerunt. Romulus septem et triginta regnavit annos, Numa tres et quadraginta. Cum valida tum temperata et belli et pacis artibus erat civitas.

1 XXII. Numae morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde Tullum Hostilium, nepotem Hostili, cuius in infima arce clara pugna adversus Sabinos fuerat, regem populus
2 iussit; patres auctores facti. Hic non solum proximo regi dissimilis sed ferocior etiam quam Romulus fuit.

6 XXIII. Postquam structi utrimque stabant, cum
7 paucis procerum in medium duces procedunt. Ibi infit Albanus: 'iniurias et non redditas res, ex foedere quae repetitae sint, et ego regem nostrum Cluilium causam huiusce esse belli audisse videor nec te dubito, Tulle, eadem prae te ferre; sed si vera potius quam dictu speciosa dicenda sunt, cupido imperii duos cognatos

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fear of punishment wholly secondary.

2. cum se . . . formarent: causal; "since his men imitated the character of," not only was there an effect upon them, but upon the neighbors. **unici:** = *praestantissimi*.

XXII. **1. cuius . . . pugna:** cf. 12. 2.

XXIII. 6-XXIV. 3. XXV. CONFERENCE WITH THE ALBANS. THE FIGHT BETWEEN THE HORATII AND THE CURIATII.

The warlike disposition of Tullus Hostilius, the third king, soon involved the Romans in war with the Albans, but before any battle occurred the Alban dictator, Mettius Fufetius, proposed a conference with Tullus on matters of common interest.

XXIII. **6. Postquam . . . stabant:** see Introd. V. 4. *e*.

7. infit: archaic for *incipit*. **non redditas res:** "failure to restore property." **regem:** sc. *dicentem* from *prae te ferre*, "allege." **causam:** pred. of *esse* understood,

8 vicinosque populos ad arma stimulat. Neque, recte an
perperam, interpretor; fuerit ista eius deliberatio, qui
bellum suscepit; me Albani gerendo bello ducem crea-
vere. Illud te, Tulle, monitum velim: Etrusca res
quanta circa nos teque maxime sit, quo propior es
Tuscis, hoc magis scis. Multum illi terra, plurimum
9 mari pollent. Memor esto, iam cum signum pugnae
dabis, has duas acies spectaculo fore, ut fessos confec-
tosque, simul victorem ac victum, adgrediantur. Itaque,
si nos di amant, quoniam non contenti libertate certa in
dubiam imperii servitiique aleam imus, ineamus aliquam
viam, qua, utri utris imperent, sine magna clade, sine
10 multo sanguine utriusque populi decerni possit.' Haud
displicet res Tullo, quamquam cum indole animi tum
spe victoriae ferocior erat. Quaerentibus utrimque ratio
initur, cui et fortuna ipsa praebuit materiam.

1 XXIV. Forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant trige-
mini fratres nec aetate nec viribus dispares. Horatios
Curiatiosque fuisse satis constat, nec ferme res antiqua alia
est nobilior; tamen in re tam clara nominum error manet,
utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii fuerint. Auctores
utroque trahunt; plures tamen invenio, qui Romanos
2 Horatios vocent; hos ut sequar, inclinat animus. Cum
trigeminis agunt reges, ut pro sua quisque patria dimi-
cent ferro: ibi imperium fore, unde victoria fuerit. Nihil

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dictu: supine with *vera* as well as with *speciosa*.

8. **recte**: sc. *fiat*. **fuerit**: the less common hortatory of the past; i.e. it may well have been a subject for discussion then. **me**: as far as I am concerned; note the contrast. **gerendo bello**: the gerundive dat. is common in designating the function of an official. **quo . . . hoc**: with compar. like Eng. "the . . . the."

9. **spectaculo**: dat. of purpose. **utri . . . imperent**: the issue to be decided.

10. **res**: "proposition." **Quaerentibus**: dat. of agent, poetic with simple forms of the passive.

XXIV. 1. **in . . . clara**: concessive, repeating the idea of *nobilior*. **error**: "uncertainty." **utroque trahunt**: cf. 7. 1. Writers claim them both ways. **plures**: an ingenuous basis of decision from a modern point of view.

2. **ut . . . dimicent**: a subst. clause of purpose. **unde**: we should say "where."

3 recusatur; tempus et locus convenit. Priusquam dimi-
carent, foedus ictum inter Romanos et Albanos est his
legibus, ut, cuius populi cives eo certamine vicissent, is
alteri populo cum bona pace imperitaret.

1 XXV. Foedere icto trigemini, sicut convenerat, arma
capiunt. Cum sui utrosque adhortarentur, deos patrios,
patriam ac parentes, quicquid civium domi, quicquid
in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus,
feroces et suopte ingenio et pleni adhortantium vocibus
2 in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Consederant
utrimque pro castris duo exercitus periculi magis prae-
sentis quam curae expertes; quippe imperium agebatur
in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna positum. Itaque
ergo erecti suspensique in minime gratum spectaculum
animos intendunt.

3 Datur signum, infestisque armis, velut acies, terni
iuvenes magnorum exercituum animos gerentes con-
currunt. Nec his nec illis periculum suum, publicum
imperium servitiumque obversatur animo futuraque ea
4 deinde patriae fortuna, quam ipsi fecissent Ut primo
statim concursu concrepuere arma micantesque fulsere
gladii, horror ingens spectantis perstringit; et neutro
5 inclinata spe torpebat vox spiritusque. Consertis deinde

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3. legibus: "terms," explained in the following *ut* clause. **cuius:** = *utrius*, resumed by *is*. **vicissent:** fut. perf. in the first form of the thought. **cum bona pace:** i.e. with full acquiescence.

XXV. **1. adhortarentur:** "said by way of encouragement." **illorum:** *vestra* in dir. disc. **tunc arma . . . intueri:** "had their eyes at that moment upon their weapons." **suopte:** archaic and emphatic for *suo*.

2. periculi . . . curae: though without personal danger the men were harassed with anxiety as to what would be the outcome for the state. **agebatur:** "was at stake." **erecti suspensique:** "on the tiptoe of expectation." **minime gratum:** strong litotes, the contest being utterly unlike the usual pleasure-giving spectacles at Rome.

3. gerentes: "with," like the Gr. **ἔχων**. **suum, publicum:** adversative asyndeton; not their own fate, but the state's. **futura:** i.e. the thought that; repeating the idea of the terms in 24. 2.

4. arma: "shields." **perstringit:** "rushes over." **torpebat:** voice and breath "were hushed."

5. anceps: "on either side."

manibus cum iam non motus tantum corporum agitatio-
que anceps telorum armorumque, sed vulnera quoque
et sanguis spectaculo essent, duo Romani super alium
alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, exspirantes corruerunt.
6 Ad quorum casum cum conclamasset gaudio Albanus
exercitus, Romanas legiones iam spes tota, nondum
tamen cura deseruerat, exanimes vice unius, quam tres
7 Curiatii circumsteterant. Forte is integer fuit, ut uni-
versis solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferox.
Ergo, ut segregaret pugnam eorum, capessit fugam, ita
ratus secuturos, ut quemque vulnere adfectum corpus
8 sineret. Iam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco, ubi pug-
natum est, aufugerat, cum respiciens videt magnis inter-
9 vallis sequentes; unum haud procul ab sese abesse. In
eum magno impetu rediit, et dum Albanus exercitus
inclamat Curiatios, uti opem ferant fratri, iam Horatius
caeso hoste victor secundam pugnam petebat. Tunc
clamore, qualis ex insperato faventium solet, Romani
adiuvant militem suum; et ille defungi proelio festinat.
10 Prius itaque, quam alter, qui nec procul aberat, consequi
11 posset, et alterum Curiatium conficit; iamque aequato
Marte singuli supererant, sed nec spe nec viribus pares.
Alterum intactum ferro corpus et geminata victoria
ferocem in certamen tertium dabat; alter fessum vul-
nere, fessum cursu trahens corpus victusque fratrum
12 ante se strage victori obicitur hosti. Nec illud proelium

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spectaculo essent: keeping up the figure in 2.

6. vice: "for the fate of."

7. ut . . . sic: "though . . . yet," as often in Livy. **secuturos:** sc. *eos*, his opponents, as subject.

8. videt: he sees first physically, then mentally, as the following constructions show.

9. ex insperato faventium: such as is theirs "who cheer after losing all hope."

10. alter . . . alterum: from two points of view: "the other . . . a second."

11. Alterum, etc.: "the one, his body unscathed by the sword and his two-fold victory made courageous." **ante se:** "before his eyes." **obicitur:** middle voice. Cf. *vertuntur* (13).

12. fratrum Manibus: the shades of his own two brothers were thus supposed to be appeased.

fuit. Romanus exsultans 'duos' inquit 'fratrum Manibus dedi; tertium causae belli huiusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo.' Male sustinenti arma gladium superne iugulo defigit; iacentem spoliat.

13 Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt eo maiore cum gaudio, quo prope metum res fuerat. Ad sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur, quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri dicionis
14 alienae facti. Sepulcra exstant, quo quisque loco cecidit, duo Romana uno loco propius Albam, tria Albana Romam versus, sed distantia locis, ut et pugnatum est.

1 XXIX. Inter haec iam praemissi Albam erant equites, qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde
2 ductae ad diruendam urbem. Quae ubi intravere portas, non quidem fuit tumultus ille nec pavor, qualis captarum esse urbium solet, cum effractis portis stratisve ariete muris aut arce vi capta clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armatorum omnia ferro flammaque miscet;
3 sed silentium triste ac tacita maestitia ita defixit omnium animos, ut prae metu obliti, quid relinquerent, quid secum ferrent, deficiente consilio rogitantesque alii alios, nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi

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Male sustinenti: as Curiatius "feebly held up" his shield.

13. dicionis alienae: pred. poss., "subject to the sway of another."

XXIX. THE DESTRUCTION OF ALBA LONGA.

The Albans apparently submit, but prove to be treacherous allies. Their capital, Alba Longa, is accordingly razed and its population transferred to Rome. Livy's description here is accounted a masterpiece.

1. Inter haec: during the accusation and punishment of Fufetius as the one responsible for the Alban treachery. **Legiones:** in contrast with *equites* before.

2. hostilis: = *hostium.* **omnia . . . miscet:** "brings upon every place the havoc of fire and sword."

3. tacita: "speechless." The main idea of the preceding phrase is secondary here. **obliti:** if this suspected word is kept, the dazed state of mind in which the Albans "cannot think out" what they should do, is boldly represented by the blank condition of the mind that cannot remember. Cf. similarly *omnium oblivio*, 5. 38. 5. **errabundi:** see Introd. V. 2. *e.* **ultimum:** adv. acc.; "for the last time." **illud visuri:** "destined to look upon that sight."

4 domos suas ultimum illud visuri pervagarentur. Ut vero iam equitum clamor exire iubentium instabat, iam fragor tectorum, quae diruebantur, ultimis urbis partibus audiebatur, pulvisque ex distantibus locis ortus velut nube inducta omnia impleverat, raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis, cum larem ac penates tectaque, in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset, relinquentes
5 exirent, iam continens agmen migrantium impleverat vias, et conspectus aliorum mutua miseratione integrabat lacrimas, vocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebantur mulierum praecipue, cum obsessa ab armatis templa augusta praeterirent, ac velut captos relinquerent deos.
6 Egressis urbe Albanis, Romanus passim publica privataque omnia tecta adaequat solo, unaque hora quadringentorum annorum opus, quibus Alba steterat, excidio ac ruinis dedit; templis tamen deum — ita enim edictum ab rege fuerat — temperatum est.

1 XXXII. Mortuo Tullo res, ut institutum iam inde ab initio erat, ad patres redierat, hique interregem nominaverant. Quo comitia habente, Ancum Marcium regem populus creavit; patres fuere auctores. Numae Pompili
4 regis nepos, filia ortus, Ancus Marcius erat. Medium erat in Anco ingenium, et Numae et Romuli memor.

1 XXXIV. Anco regnante Lucumo, vir impiger ac divitiis potens, Romam commigravit cupidine maxime ac

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4. **impleverat:** with *ut;* the pluperf. emphasizing a resulting condition is thus parallel with the imperfects. **quibus . . . elatis:** = *eis, quae quisque efferre poterat, elatis.* **larem:** usually plur. in class. Latin.

6. **quadringentorum:** a round number. Alba was three hundred years older than Rome. Cf. Aen. 1. 272. **quibus:** "during which." See Introd. V. 1. *c.* (1). **templis:** dat. with *temperatum est,* after the analogy of *parcere.* **edictum . . . fuerat:** = *edictum erat.* The pluperf. is frequently so formed in Livy. See Introd. V. 4. *c.*

XXXII. 1. 4. *XXXIV.* 1-3. 4-7. 10-12. *XXXV.* 1. 2. 6. *ANCUS MARTIUS, FOURTH KING. THE ADVENT OF TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.*

XXXII. 1. **Tullo:** his reign had lasted thirty-two years. **filia ortus:** i.e. on his mother's side.

XXXIV. 1. **Anco regnante:** during his reign, Ancus added to

spe magni honoris, cuius adipiscendi Tarquiniis — nam
ibi quoque peregrina stirpe oriundus erat — facultas non
2 fuerat. Demarati Corinthii filius erat, qui ob seditiones
domo profugus cum Tarquiniis forte consedisset, uxore
ibi ducta duos filios genuit. Nomina his Lucumo atque
Arruns fuerunt. Lucumo superfuit patri bonorum
omnium heres; Arruns prior quam pater moritur, nec
3 diu manet superstes filio pater. Lucumoni omnium
4 heredi bonorum cum divitiae iam animos facerent, auxit
ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil, summo loco nata, et
quae haud facile iis, in quibus nata erat, humiliora
5 sineret ea, quo innupsisset. Spernentibus Etruscis
Lucumonem exsule advena ortum, ferre indignitatem
non potuit, oblitaque ingenitae erga patriam caritatis,
dummodo virum honoratum videret, consilium migrandi
6 ab Tarquiniis cepit. Roma est ad id potissimum visa:
in novo populo, ubi omnis repentina atque ex virtute
nobilitas sit, futurum locum forti ac strenuo viro; reg-
nasse Tatium Sabinum, arcessitum in regnum Numam
a Curibus, et Ancum Sabina matre ortum nobilemque
7 una imagine Numae esse. Facile persuadet ut cupido
honorum, et cui Tarquinii materna tantum patria esset.

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the city the Aventine and the Janiculum. The latter was joined by the *pons sublicius*, the first bridge across the Tiber at Rome; the *Tullianum* (Mamertine prison) was constructed, and Ostia founded at the mouth of the Tiber. **Lucumo:** really an Etruscan noun expressing rank, like Lat. *princeps*. **honoris:** "political preferment." **Tarquiniis:** loc.; for the plu. cf. Veii, Pompeii. Tarquinii was an important city in the Etruscan league. **peregrina:** i.e. his father was a Corinthian.

3. animos facerent: "aroused his ambition."

4. auxit: translate passively; "it was increased by his marriage." **nata:** equivalent to a rel. clause, and parallel to *quae . . . sineret*, which characterizes her more definitely. **iis, quo:** after *humiliora;* "than the station, in which."

5. ingenitae . . . caritatis: a circumlocution for "patriotism," a word not found in Latin.

6. ex virtute: "based upon true worth." **Sabinum:** concessive. **imagine:** the language suits the custom of a later period when a waxen image of each ancestor who had held a curule office might be placed in the *atrium*.

7. persuadet: sc. *ei*, with which *cupido* agrees. **esset:** attracted to the sing. pred.

10 Sublatis itaque rebus amigrant Romam, domicilioque ibi
comparato L. Tarquinium Priscum edidere nomen.
11 Romanis conspicuum eum novitas divitiaeque faciebant;
et ipse fortunam benigno adloquio, comitate invitandi
beneficiisque, quos poterat, sibi conciliando adiuvabat,
12 donec in regiam quoque de eo fama perlata est. Notitiam-
que eam brevi apud regem liberaliter dextereque obeundo
officia in familiaris amicitiae adduxerat iura, ut publicis
pariter ac privatis consiliis bello domique interesset, et
per omnia expertus postremo tutor etiam liberis regis
testamento institueretur.

1 XXXV. Regnavit Ancus annos quattuor et viginti,
cuilibet superiorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et
gloria par. Iam filii prope puberem aetatem erant. Eo
magis Tarquinius instare, ut quam primum comitia regi
2 creando fierent; quibus indictis sub tempus pueros
6 venatum ablegavit. Eum ingenti consensu populus
Romanus regnare iussit.

1 XXXVIII. Collatia et quidquid citra Collatiam agri
erat, Sabinis ademptum; Egerius — fratris hic filius erat

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10. L. Tarquinium Priscum: the requisite *tria nomina* of a proper Roman.

11. Romanis: contrasted with the *spernentibus Etruscis*. **novitas:** "his being a stranger." **conciliando:** abl. of means, on which depend three nouns in the same usage. See Introd. V. 1. *c.* (2).

12. Notitiamque eam: "such mere acquaintanceship." **in . . . iura:** "to the privileges." **expertus:** passive.

XXXV. **1. filii:** though the office was elective, king Ancus was a grandson of king Numa, and the suggestion here is of closer succession.

2. venatum: supine.

6. ingenti consensu: according to tradition Tarquin was the first Roman to canvass actively in seeking office. As king he increased his following in the senate by enlarging that body; he waged successful war with the Latins, gave magnificent public games, established the Circus Maximus, and founded the Ludi Romani. A stone wall about the city was started, also the foundation work for the Capitoline temple: sewers were opened to drain the lowest districts of the Forum site. With an increased cavalry, Tarquin defeats the Sabines and their town Collatia is surrendered.

XXXVIII. 1-3. THE FORMAL SURRENDER OF COLLATIA.

1. Collatia: about ten miles E. of Rome. **ita:** with *deditos* (*esse*).

regis — Collatiae in praesidio relictus. Deditosque Colla-
2 tinos ita accipio eamque deditionis formulam esse: rex interrogavit: 'estisne vos legati oratoresque missi a populo Conlatino, ut vos populumque Conlatinum dederetis?' Sumus. 'Estne populus Conlatinus in sua potestate?' Est. 'Deditisne vos populumque Conlatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensilia, divina humanaque omnia in meam populique Romani dicionem?' Dedimus.
3 'At ego recipio'. Bello Sabino perfecto Tarquinius triumphans Romam redit.

1 XL. Duodequadragesimo ferme anno, ex quo regnare coeperat Tarquinius, non apud regem modo, sed apud patres plebemque longe maximo honore Servius Tullius
2 erat. Tum Anci filii duo, etsi antea semper pro indignissimo habuerant se patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos, regnare Romae advenam non modo vicinae, sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis, tum impensius iis indignitas
3 crescere, si ne ab Tarquinio quidem ad se rediret regnum, sed praeceps inde porro ad servitia caderet, ut in eadem civitate post centesimum fere annum quod Romulus, deo prognatus, deus ipse, tenuerit regnum, donec in terris fuerit, id servus serva natus possideat.

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2. rex: fetial ambassadors (cf. 7. 32. 1.) usually officiated, as they apparently did here on the Sabine side. **oratores:** "spokesmen." Even in modern law, "your orator pleads" (*orare*). **in sua potestate:** "independent," i.e. their action would not involve Rome in some further war.

3. triumphans: first mention of a formal triumph.

XL. XLI. XLVI. XLVII. THE KILLING OF TARQUIN. THE EVENTFUL REIGN OF SERVIUS TULLIUS.

XL. **1. Servius Tullius:** the reputed son of a noble captive. A flame which appeared as an omen (39. 1) about his head led the king and queen to rear him in a manner befitting his rank, and to betroth to him their daughter.

2. filii: cf. 35. 2. **indignitas crescere:** by change of construction, or anacoluthon, this represents *indignabantur*, which would naturally go with *filii; filii* is resumed by the dat. of ref. *iis*.

3. si . . . rediret: introducing their thought. **servitia:** = *servos*. The allusion is to a less generous tradition that Servius was *servus serva natus* (3). **quod . . . regnum . . . id:** emphatic for *id regnum, quod*. **virili stirpe salva:** "with

Cum commune Romani nominis, tum praecipue id
domus suae dedecus fore, si Anci regis virili stirpe salva
non modo advenis, sed servis etiam regnum Romae
4 pateret. Ferro igitur eam arcere contumeliam statuunt.
Sed et iniuriae dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis quam
in Servium eos stimulabat, et quia gravior ultor cae-
dis, si superesset, rex futurus erat quam privatus, tum
Servio occiso quemcumque alium generum, delegisset,
5 eundem regni heredem facturus videbatur; ob haec
ipsi regi insidiae parantur. Ex pastoribus duo fero-
cissimi delecti ad facinus, quibus consueti erant uterque
agrestibus ferramentis, in vestibulo regiae quam potuere
tumultuosissime specie rixae in se omnes apparitores
regios convertunt. Inde, cum ambo regem appellarent
clamorque eorum penitus in regiam pervenisset, vocati
6 ad regem pergunt. Primo uterque vociferari et cer-
tatim alter alteri obstrepere; coerciti ab lictore et iussi
in vicem dicere tandem obloqui desistunt; unus rem
7 ex composito orditur. Dum intentus in eum se rex
totus averteret, alter elatam securim in caput deiecit,
relictoque in vulnere telo ambo se foras eiciunt.

1 XLI. Tarquinium moribundum cum, qui circa erant,
excepissent, illos fugientes lictores conprehendunt.
Clamor inde concursusque populi mirantium, quid rei
esset. Tanaquil inter tumultum claudi regiam iubet,
arbitros eicit. Simul quae curando vulneri opus sunt,
tamquam spes subesset, sedulo comparat, simul, si

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male descendants still alive." **pateret:** "be available."

4. Sed: adversative to the obvious thought that they would remove Servius.

5. quibus: = *iis ferramentis, quibus* (dat.).

7. dum . . . averteret: after the analogy of a *cum* clause.

XLI. **1. moribundum:** see Introd. V. 2. *e*. **mirantium:** a sense agreement with *populi*. **quae . . . opus sunt:** with *opus* as a predicate the thing needed is in the nom. instead of the abl. **subesset:** "lurked in her mind." **praesidia:** i.e. means of defense for holding the power within the family.

2 destituat spes, alia praesidia molitur. Servio propere accito cum paene exsanguem virum ostendisset, dextram tenens orat, ne inultam mortem soceri, ne socrum
3 inimicis ludibrio esse sinat. 'Tuum est' inquit, 'Servi, si vir es, regnum, non eorum, qui alienis manibus pessimum facinus fecere. Erige te deosque duces sequere, qui clarum hoc fore caput divino quondam circumfuso igni portenderunt. Nunc te illa caelestis excitet flamma, nunc expergiscere vere. Et nos peregrini regnavimus; qui sis, non unde natus sis, reputa. Si tua re subita consilia torpent, at tu mea consilia sequere.

4 Cum clamor impetusque multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex superiore parte aedium per fenestras in Novam viam versas — habitabat enim rex ad Iovis Statoris —
5 populum Tanaquil adloquitur. Iubet bono animo esse: sopitum fuisse regem subito ictu; ferrum haud alte in corpus descendisse; iam ad se redisse; inspectum vulnus absterso cruore; omnia salubria esse; confidere prope diem ipsum eos visuros; interim Servio Tullio iubere populum dicto audientem esse; eum iura redditurum
6 obiturumque alia regis munia esse. Servius cum trabea et lictoribus prodit, ac sede regia sedens alia decernit, de aliis consulturum se regem esse simulat. Itaque per aliquot dies, cum iam exspirasset Tarquinius, celata morte per speciem alienae fungendae vicis suas opes firmavit. Tum demum palam factum est comploratione

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2. Servio: dat.

3. peregrini: concessive. **qui:** for the regular subst. interrog., as often in Livy. Here *quis sis* is thus avoided.

4. in . . . versas: "opening upon the Nova via," a street so named in contrast with the older Sacra via. **Iovis Statoris:** sc. *aedem.* Like Eng. "near St. Paul's."

5. confidere: sc. *se,* i.e. Tanaquil; but with *iubere,* sc. *regem.* **dicto:** dat. of ref. with *audientem esse;* together, a circumlocution for *parere.*

6. trabea: a state robe of white and purple, chiefly the latter. **fungendae vicis:** this regular gerundive is a survival of *fungi* as a transitive verb. **palam factum est:** sc. as subj. *expirasse Tarquinium.* **comploratione:** the formal mourning, with its wailing and thrice calling the name of the dead. **voluntate:** "tacit consent," not the formal *auctoritas.* Cf. 32. 1.

in regia orta. Servius, praesidio firmo munitus, primus
7 iniussu populi voluntate patrum regnavit. Anci liberi
iam tum, cum, comprensis sceleris ministris, vivere regem
et tantas esse opes Servi nuntiatum est, Suessam Pome-
tiam exsulatum ierant.

1 XLVI. Servius quamquam iam usu haud dubie regnum
possederat, tamen, quia interdum iactari voces a iuvene
Tarquinio audiebat se iniussu populi regnare, conciliata
prius voluntate plebis agro capto ex hostibus viritim
diviso, ausus est ferre ad populum, vellent iuberentne
se regnare; tantoque consensu, quanto haud quisquam
2 alius ante, rex est declaratus. Neque ea res Tarquinio
spem adfectandi regni minuit; immo eo impensius, quia
de agro plebis adversa patrum voluntate senserat agi,
criminandi Servi apud patres crescendique in curia sibi
occasionem datam ratus est, et ipse iuvenis ardentis
animi et domi uxore Tullia inquietum animum stimu-
3 lante. Tulit enim et Romana regia sceleris tragici
exemplum, ut taedio regum maturior veniret libertas,
ultimumque regnum esset, quod scelere partum foret.

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7. **exsulatum:** supine, "into exile."

XLVI. During his reign Servius introduced important reforms. To this period belongs the Servian constitution which divided the people into five classes according to their possessions and their service to the government, and distributed the burdens of government according to wealth. There was too, a nucleus of the comitia centuriata. *According to tradition, a temple of Diana was founded, the Quirinal, Viminal and Esquiline hills were added, and the whole city was surrounded by a wall, of which impressive remains are still to be seen.*

1. **usu:** "prescription," a legal term. By the early Roman law two years of peaceful possession gave a title even in realty. **voces:** introducing indir. disc., as *monumentum* at 12. 6. **agro . . . diviso:** abl. of means with *conciliata.* See Introd. V. 1. *c.* (2). **viritim:** the *ager publicus* had formerly been parcelled by the patricians only (47. 11).

2. **eo impensius:** "all the more effectively," with *criminandi.* **agi:** impersonal; "the action." **crescendi:** "of becoming more influential."

3. **et:** as well as the Grecian at Thebes, or Mycenae. **tragici:** i.e. fit subject for tragedy. **maturior . . . ultimumque:** predicates.

4 Hic L. Tarquinius — Prisci Tarquini regis filius
neposne fuerit, parum liquet; pluribus tamen auctori-
bus filium ediderim — fratrem habuerat Arruntem Tar-
5 quinium, mitis ingenii iuvenem. His duobus duae
Tulliae, regis filiae nupserant, et ipsae longe dispares
moribus. Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia
matrimonio iungerentur, fortuna, credo, populi Romani,
quo diuturnius Servi regnum esset, constituique civitatis
6 mores possent. Angebatur ferox Tullia nihil materiae
in viro neque ad cupiditatem neque ad audaciam esse;
tota in alterum aversa Tarquinium eum mirari, eum
virum dicere ac regio sanguine ortum; spernere sororem,
7 quod virum nacta muliebri cessaret audacia. Contrahit
celeriter similitudo eos, ut fere fit — malum malo aptis-
simum — sed initium turbandi omnia a femina ortum
est. Ea secretis viri alieni adsuefacta sermonibus, nullis
verborum contumeliis parcere de viro ad fratrem, de
sorore ad virum; et se rectius viduam et illum caelibem
futurum fuisse contendere, quam cum impari iungi, ut
8 elanguescendum aliena ignavia esset. Si sibi eum, quo
digna esset, dii dedissent virum, domi se prope diem
visuram regnum fuisse, quod apud patrem videat. Cele-
9 riter adulescentem suae temeritatis implet. Lucius Tar-
quinius et Tullia minor, prope continuatis funeribus

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4. Prisci Tarquini: the *nomen* and *cognomen* are sometimes reversed, if the *praenomen* is omitted. **ediderim**: potential subjunctive in modest statement.

5. duobus . . . nupserant: Servius had betrothed his daughters to the sons of Tarquin, so that these young men might not conspire against him, as the sons of Ancus had conspired against Tarquin. **ne**: irregularly after a verb of happening, because a divine purpose is implied.

7. malum . . . aptissimum: a proverb; translate accordingly. **turbandi omnia**: the gerund rather than the gerundive is regular with neuter adjectives and pronouns to avoid ambiguity. Cf. 1. 21. 1. **rectius . . . futurum fuisse**: "it would have been better;" the apodosis of a contrary to fact condition in indir. disc. Cf. *visuram fuisse* (8). **viduam . . . caelibem**: fem. and masc. of the same idea.

9. matrimonio: dat. **magis . . . adprobante**: simply "not pre-

cum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, iungun-
tur nuptiis, magis non prohibente Servio quam adpro-
bante.
1 XLVII. Tum vero in dies infestior Tulli senectus,
infestius coepit regnum esse. Iam enim ab scelere ad aliud
spectare mulier scelus, nec nocte nec interdiu virum con-
quiescere pati, ne gratuita praeterita parricidia essent:
2 non sibi defuisse, cui nupta diceretur, nec cum quo
tacita serviret; defuisse, qui se regno dignum putaret,
qui meminisset se esse Prisci Tarquini filium, qui habere
3 quam sperare regnum mallet. 'Si tu is es, cui nuptam
esse me arbitror, et virum et regem appello; sin minus,
eo nunc peius mutata res est, quod istic cum ignavia
4 est scelus. Quin accingeris? Non tibi ab Corintho nec
ab Tarquiniis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri
necesse est; di te penates patriique et patris imago et
domus regia et in domo regale solium et nomen Tar-
5 quinium creat vocatque regem. Aut si ad haec parum
est animi, quid frustraris civitatem? Quid te ut regium
iuvenem conspici sinis? Facesse hinc Tarquinios aut
Corinthum, devolvere retro ad stirpem, fratris similior
6 quam patris'. His aliisque increpando iuvenem instigat
nec conquiescere ipsa potest, si, cum Tanaquil, pere-
grina mulier, tantum moliri potuisset animo, ut duo
continua regna viro ac deinceps genero dedisset, ipsa,

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venting it rather than approving;" parental acquiescence.

XLVII. **1. infestior . . . infestius:** passive in sense. **gratuita:** "to no purpose."

2. cui . . . diceretur: i.e. a husband in mere name had not been lacking. **serviret:** her dream was of reigning.

3. istic: "in you."

4. quin: = old interrog. *qui* and *ne* (*non*), "why not." **accingeris:** middle voice; after *quin*, see on 9. 18. 11.

5. frustraris: she conceives that the citizens expect what she herself hopes for. **regium iuvenem:** "a prince." See on *caritatis*, 34. 5. **imago:** see on 34. 6. **facesse:** sc. *te*. Note the intensive formation. **devolvere retro:** followed by *ad* = "sink back to the level of."

6. nullum momentum . . . faceret: "have no weight;" indirect thought.

regio semine orta, nullum momentum in dando adimen-
doque regno faceret.
7 His muliebribus instinctus furiis Tarquinius cir-
cumire et prensare minorum maxime gentium patres;
admonere paterni beneficii, ac pro eo gratiam repetere;
adlicere donis iuvenes; cum de se ingentia pollicendo
8 tum regis criminibus omnibus locis crescere. Postremo,
ut iam agendae rei tempus visum est, stipatus agmine
armatorum in forum inrupit. Inde omnibus perculsis
pavore, in regia sede pro curia sedens, patres in curiam
9 per praeconem ad regem Tarquinium citari iussit. Con-
venere extemplo, alii iam ante ad hoc praeparati, alii
metu, ne non venisse fraudi esset, novitate ac miraculo
10 attoniti et iam de Servio actum rati. Ibi Tarquinius
maledicta ab stirpe ultima orsus: servum servaque
natum post mortem indignam parentis sui, non inter-
regno, ut antea, inito, non comitiis habitis, non per
suffragium populi, non auctoribus patribus, muliebri
11 dono regnum occupasse. Ita natum, ita creatum regem,
fautorem infimi generis hominum, ex quo ipse sit, odio
alienae honestatis ereptum primoribus agrum sordidis-
12 simo cuique divisisse; omnia onera, quae communia
quondam fuerint, inclinasse in primores civitatis; institu-
isse censum, ut insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum fortuna
esset et parata, unde, ubi vellet, egentissimis largiretur.

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7. minorum . . . gentium patres: a junior class of senators appointed by Tarquin's father. **pro eo gratiam**: "support in return;" the eternal *quid pro quo* of politics. **criminibus**: "by charges against." Distinguish from *scelus*.

8. pro: "in the front part of." **ad regem Tarquinium**: the official warrant for the summons.

9. non venisse: "their not coming." **fraudi**: dat. of purpose; with *esset*, translate "work harm." **actum**: sc. *esse;* a colloquialism, "all up with."

12. censum: this rating of citizens' property, to determine their class in the five-fold division of the Servian Constitution, Tarquin maintains was made in order that the fortunes of the rich might be clearly marked for arousing envy. **unde**: = *ex qua*, introducing a rel. clause of purpose. **vellet**: the so-called iterative subjunctive.

1 XLVIII. Huic orationi Servius cum intervenisset trepido nuntio excitatus, extemplo a vestibulo curiae magna voce 'quid hoc' inquit, 'Tarquini, rei est? qua tu audacia me vivo vocare ausus es patres aut in sede
2 considere mea?' Cum ille ferociter ad haec, se patris sui tenere sedem, multo quam servum potiorem filium regis regni heredem, satis illum diu per licentiam eludentem insultasse dominis, clamor ab utriusque fautoribus oritur, et concursus populi fiebat in curiam, appare-
3 batque regnaturum, qui vicisset. Tum Tarquinius, necessitate iam etiam ipsa cogente ultima audere, multo et aetate et viribus validior, medium arripit Servium, elatumque e curia in inferiorem partem per gradus
4 deicit; inde ad cogendum senatum in curiam redit. Fit fuga regis apparitorum atque comitum; ipse prope exsanguis, cum sine regio comitatu domum se reciperet, ab iis, qui missi ab Tarquinio fugientem consecuti erant,
5 interficitur. Creditur, quia non abhorret a cetero scelere, admonitu Tulliae id factum. Carpento certe, id quod satis constat, in forum invecta nec reverita coetum virorum evocavit virum e curia, regemque prima appel-
6 lavit. A quo facessere iussa ex tanto tumultu cum se domum reciperet, pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium nuper fuit, flectenti carpentum dextra in Vrbium clivum, ut in collem Esquiliarum

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XLVIII. THE KILLING OF SERVIUS; SUMMARY OF HIS REIGN.

1. Huic orationi: emphatic; "while he was still speaking in such terms."

2. ad haec: sc. *responderet.* **filium:** = *quod filius esset.* **per licentiam eludentem:** "in insolent mockery."

3. ultima audere: "to risk extreme measures."

5. non abhorret, etc.: "was not inconsistent with her actions in the rest of the crime." Brachylogy. **nec reverita:** an especial breach of propriety.

6. Cyprium vicum: aside from the Sacra via and the Nova via, the streets of Rome were either *vici* or *clivi* (i.e. up hill). The vicus Cyprius led from "down town" toward the Subura, and crossed at its highest point the clivus Urbius, where a turn to the right on Urbius led to the residence district of the Esqui-

eveheretur, restitit pavidus atque inhibuit frenos is, qui iumenta agebat, iacentemque dominae Servium
7 trucidatum ostendit. Foedum inhumanumque inde traditur scelus, monumentoque locus est: Sceleratum vicum vocant, quo amens agitantibus furiis sororis ac viri Tullia per patris corpus carpentum egisse fertur, partemque sanguinis ac caedis paternae cruento vehiculo, contaminata ipsa respersaque, tulisse ad penates suos virique sui, quibus iratis malo regni principio similes prope diem exitus sequerentur.

8 Servius Tullius regnavit annos quattuor et quadraginta ita, ut bono etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficilis aemulatio esset. Ceterum id quoque ad gloriam accessit, quod cum illo simul iusta ac legitima
9 regna occiderunt. Id ipsum tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium tamen, quia unius esset, deponere eum in animo habuisse quidam auctores sunt, ni scelus intestinum liberandae patriae consilia agitanti intervenisset.

1 XLIX. Inde L. Tarquinius regnare occepit, cui Superbo cognomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum gener sepultura prohibuit, Romulum quoque insepultum perisse
2 dictitans, primoresque patrum, quos Servi rebus favisse credebat, interfecit; conscius deinde male quaerendi

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line. **flectenti:** sc. *ei*, dat. of ref. after *restitit*. **iacentemque,** etc.: something lying in the way is pointed out to his mistress,—it is Servius, slain.

7. **furiis:** the avenging Furies of the dead are none other than the lashings of one's guilty conscience, as Cicero rationalizes the myth (Rosc. Am. 67). **sanguinis . . . paternae:** hendiadys, "the blood of her murdered father." **quibus iratis:** "so that through their anger."

9. **ni** (= *nisi*) . . . **intervenisset;** by a familiar ellipsis the apodosis is *et depositurum fuisse* (for *deposuisset* in dir. disc.), "and that he would have laid it down." **intestinum:** "within his own family."

XLIX. 1-7. LIII. 1-5. 10. 11. LIV. LVII. TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS, SEVENTH AND LAST KING.

XLIX. 1. **occepit:** archaic for *incepit*. **socerum gener:** note the contrast. **sepultura:** for the fate of the souls of the unburied, cf. Aen. 6. 329 *centum errant annos volitantque haec litora circum.*

2. **male:** "by foul means."

regni ab se ipso adversus se exemplum capi posse, armatis
3 corpus circumsaepsit; neque enim ad ius regni quicquam praeter vim habebat, ut qui neque populi iussu
4 neque auctoribus patribus regnaret. Eo accedebat, ut in caritate civium nihil spei reponenti metu regnum tutandum esset. Quem ut pluribus incuteret, cognitiones capitalium rerum sine consiliis per se solus exerce-
5 bat, perque eam causam occidere, in exsilium agere, bonis multare poterat non suspectos modo aut invisos, sed unde nihil aliud quam praedam sperare posset.
6 Praecipue ita patrum numero imminuto statuit nullos in patres legere, quo contemptior paucitate ipsa ordo
7 esset, minusque per se nihil agi indignarentur. Hic enim regum primus traditum a prioribus morem de omnibus senatum consulendi solvit, domesticis consiliis rem publicam administravit; bellum, pacem, foedera, societates per se ipse, cum quibus voluit, iniussu populi ac senatus fecit diremitque.

1 LIII. Nec, ut iniustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit; quin ea arte aequasset superiores reges, ni degen-
2 eratum in aliis huic quoque decori offecisset. Is primus Volscis bellum in ducentos amplius post suam aetatem annos movit, Suessamque Pometiam ex his vi cepit.
3 Ubi cum divendita praeda quadraginta talenta argenti refecisset, concepit animo eam amplitudinem Iovis

3. ut qui: see on Praef. 2.

4. in caritate: in contrast with Servius (46. 1). **reponenti:** sc. *ei*, the agent with *tutandum esset*. **capitalium:** in the Roman sense, cases affecting life, liberty, property, or citizenship. **consiliis:** i.e. consellors with the special knowledge needed, whom he might have chosen from the senate list to aid him.

5. unde: = *eos, a quibus*.

7. omnibus: neut. **senatum consulendi:** under the absolute rule of the kings the senate at best was only an advisory body. Tarquin finally dropped all pretense, and counseled only with close friends.

LIII. **1. quin:** = *quin etiam*. **ea arte:** "by his skill in this." **degeneratum:** neut. ptcp. as subst.; "the fact of his degeneracy."

2. in: i.e. it ran into a war lasting so long.

3. quadraginta talenta: somewhat less than $50,000. The use of *talenta* shows that Livy's source was one of the early Roman

templi, quae digna deum hominumque rege, quae Romano imperio, quae ipsius etiam loci maiestate esset. Captivam pecuniam in aedificationem eius templi seposuit.

4 Excepit deinde eum lentius spe bellum, quo Gabios, propinquam urbem, nequiquam vi adortus, cum obsidendi quoque urbem spes pulso a moenibus adempta esset, postremo minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo,
5 adgressus est. Nam cum, velut posito bello, fundamentis templi iaciendis aliisque urbanis operibus intentum se esse simularet, Sextus filius eius, qui minimus ex tribus erat, transfugit ex composito Gabios, patris
10 in se saevitiam intolerabilem conquerens. Benigne ab Gabinis excipitur. Vetant mirari, si, qualis in cives,
11 qualis in socios, talis ad ultimum in liberos esset; in se ipsum postremo saeviturum, si alia desint. Sibi vero gratum adventum eius esse, futurumque credere brevi, ut illo adiuvante a portis Gabinis sub Romana moenia bellum transferatur.

1 LIV. Inde in consilia publica adhiberi. Ubi cum de aliis rebus adsentire se veteribus Gabinis diceret, quibus eae notiores essent, ipse identidem belli auctor esse, et in eo sibi praecipuam prudentiam adsumere, quod utriusque populi vires nosset, sciretque invisam profecto superbiam regiam civibus esse, quam ferre ne liberi quidem
2 potuissent. Ita cum sensim ad rebellandum primores Gabinorum incitaret, ipse cum promptissimis iuvenum praedatum atque in expeditiones iret, et dictis factisque omnibus ad fallendum instructis vana adcresceret fides,

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historians who wrote in Greek. See Introd. III.

4. spe: = *quam speraverat;* brachylogy. **pulso:** sc. *Tarquinio.* See on *Romanis,* 12. 5. **minime . . . Romana:** note Livy's patriotic tone.

10. Vetant mirari: this translates the natural direct *noli mirari.*

11. eius: = *Sexti.*

LIV. **1. adhiberi:** hist. infin. The narrative is vivid throughout the chapter. **quod . . . nosset:** "because, as he claimed, he was acquainted with."

2. vana: "misplaced."

3 dux ad ultimum belli legitur. Ibi cum inscia multitu-
dine, quid ageretur, proelia parva inter Romam Gabios-
que fierent, quibus plerumque Gabina res superior esset,
tum certatim summi infimique Gabinorum Sex. Tar-
4 quinium dono deum sibi missum ducem credere. Apud
milites vero obeundo pericula ac labores pariter, prae-
dam munifice largiendo tanta caritate esse, ut non pater
Tarquinius potentior Romae quam filius Gabiis esset.
5 Itaque postquam satis virium collectum ad omnes
conatus videbat, tum ex suis unum sciscitatum Romam
ad patrem mittit, quidnam se facere vellet, quando-
quidem, ut omnia unus Gabiis posset, ei dii dedissent.
6 Huic nuntio, quia, credo, dubiae fidei videbatur, nihil
voce responsum est. Rex velut deliberabundus in hor-
tum aedium transit sequenti nuntio filii; ibi inambulans
tacitus summa papaverum capita dicitur baculo decus-
7 sisse. Interrogando expectandoque responsum nuntius
fessus, ut re imperfecta, redit Gabios; quae dixerit ipse,
quaeque viderit, refert: seu ira seu odio seu superbia
8 insita ingenio nullam eum vocem emisisse. Sexto ubi,
quid vellet parens quidve praeciperet tacitis ambagi-
bus, patuit, primores civitatis criminando alios apud
populum, alios sua ipsos invidia opportunos interemit.
9 Multi palam, quidam, in quibus minus speciosa crimi-
natio erat futura, clam interfecti. Patuit quibusdam
volentibus fuga, alii in exsilium acti sunt, absentiumque
10 bona iuxta atque interemptorum divisui fuere. Largi-

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3. certatim . . . credere: as if vying with each other in the strength of their belief. **dono:** instr. abl.

5. ut . . . posset: subst. clause after *dedissent*. **omnia unus:** a frequent combination: he was one man all powerful. **ei:** for *sibi*, because from the messenger's point of view.

6. deliberabundus: see Introd. V. 2. *e*. **summa . . . capita:** the whole story is applied from Herodotus 5. 92.

7. insita ingenio: "innate."

8. tacitis ambagibus: "silent intimations." **sua . . . opportunos:** "readily suggested by their own unpopularity."

9. volentibus: with conditional force. **iuxta atque:** "as well as." **divisui fuere:** = *dividuntur;* see Introd. V. 1. *b*. (2).

tiones inde praedaeque; et dulcedine privati commodi
sensus malorum publicorum adimi, donec orba consilio
auxilioque Gabina res regi Romano sine ulla dimica-
tione in manum traditur.

1 LVII. Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens, ut in ea regione
atque in ea aetate, divitiis praepollens. Eaque ipsa
causa belli fuit, quod rex Romanus cum ipse ditari,
exhaustus magnificentia publicorum operum, tum praeda
3 delenire popularium animos studebat. Temptata res est,
si primo impetu capi Ardea posset. Ubi id parum pro-
cessit, obsidione munitionibusque coepti premi hostes.
4 In his stativis, ut fit longo magis quam acri bello,
satis liberi commeatus erant, primoribus tamen magis
5 quam militibus; regii quidem iuvenes interdum otium
6 conviviis comisationibusque inter se terebant. Forte
potantibus his apud Sex. Tarquinium, ubi et Collatinus
cenabat Tarquinius, Egerii filius, incidit de uxoribus
7 mentio; suam quisque laudare miris modis. Inde cer-
tamine accenso Collatinus negat verbis opus esse; paucis
id quidem horis posse sciri, quantum ceteris praestet
Lucretia sua. 'Quin, si vigor iuventae inest, conscen-
dimus equos invisimusque praesentes nostrarum ingenia?
Id cuique spectatissimum sit, quod necopinato viri

LVII. 1. **Ardeam:** some twenty miles S. of Rome. **ut:** see on 1. 18. 1. **ditari:** "to enrich himself." Tarquin, according to tradition, had lavished money upon public works, especially the Capitoline temple and the Cloaca Maxima. The Cloaca, as we know it, a very ancient closed sewer, part of which is still in service, belongs to a later date. **animos:** disaffected because of the king's general tyranny and because he kept them at hard labor on his works.

3. **parum processit:** "made poor progress." **coepti:** *coepi* regularly attracts its voice to its complementary infin.

4. **commeatus:** "furloughs."

5. **otium . . . terebant:** after the analogy of *tempus terere* (cf. 9), "to while away time."

6. **apud:** military, "at the quarters of." **Collatinus:** i.e. of Collatia (38. 1). See on 46. 4. **miris modis:** poetic, "in wondrous wise." Cf. Aen. 1. 354.

7. **cuique:** brought forward from its natural position in the *quod* clause, where *viri . . . oculis* represents it, but emphasizes the character of the test. **specta-**

8 adventu occurrerit oculis.' Incaluerant vino; 'age
sane!' omnes. Citatis equis avolant Romam. Quo cum
primis se intendentibus tenebris pervenissent, pergunt
9 inde Collatiam, ubi Lucretiam haudquaquam ut regias
nurus, quas in convivio luxuque cum aequalibus vide-
rant tempus terentes, sed nocte sera deditam lanae inter
lucubrantes ancillas in medio aedium sedentem inve-
niunt. Muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucretiam fuit.
10 Adveniens vir Tarquiniique excepti benigne; victor
maritus comiter invitat regios iuvenes. Ibi Sex. Tar-
quinium mala libido Lucretiae per vim stuprandae
11 capit; cum forma tum spectata castitas incitat. Et tum
quidem ab nocturno iuvenali ludo in castra redeunt.

1 LIX. Brutus, illis luctu occupatis, cultrum ex vulnere
Lucretiae extractum manantem cruore prae se tenens,
'per hunc' inquit 'castissimum ante regiam iniuriam
sanguinem iuro vosque, dii, testes facio, me L. Tar-
quinium Superbum cum scelerata coniuge et omni libe-
rorum stirpe ferro, igni, quacumque dehinc vi possim,
exacturum, nec illos nec alium quemquam regnare
2 Romae passurum.' Cultrum deinde Collatino tradit,
inde Lucretio ac Valerio, stupentibus miraculo rei, unde
novum in Bruti pectore ingenium. Ut praeceptum
erat, iurant; totique ab luctu versi in iram, Brutum
iam inde ad expugnandum regnum vocantem sequuntur

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tissimum: "the best evidence."

8. intendentibus tenebris: i.e. "the shades of night were falling fast."

9. in medio aedium: = *in mediis aedibus;* the *atrium*, not the banquet hall.

10. per vim stuprandae: "of offering violence to."

11. tum quidem: Sextus returning later, however, offered violence to Lucretia, who forthwith summoned her husband and relatives, revealed to them Tarquin's crime, and thereupon plunged a knife into her heart.

LIX. LX. EXPULSION OF THE KING; ELECTION OF TWO CONSULS.

LIX. 1. **Brutus:** though called "the Dullard," he now becomes important as a liberator of his country. **illis:** Lucretia's father and husband. **ferro . . . vi:** a proverbial expression. Cf. 2. 10. 4.

3 ducem. Elatum domo Lucretiae corpus in forum defe-
runt, concientque miraculo, ut fit, rei novae atque indig-
4 nitate homines. Pro se quisque scelus regium ac vim
queruntur. Movet cum patris maestitia, tum Brutus
castigator lacrimarum atque inertium querellarum auc-
torque, quod viros, quod Romanos deceret, arma capi-
5 endi adversus hostilia ausos. Ferocissimus quisque
iuvenum cum armis voluntarius adest; sequitur et
cetera iuventus. Inde parte praesidio relicta Collatiae,
custodibusque ad portas locatis, ne quis eum motum
regibus nuntiaret, ceteri armati duce Bruto Romam
profecti.

6 Ubi eo ventum est, quacumque incedit armata
multitudo, pavorem ac tumultum facit; rursus ubi
anteire primores civitatis vident, quidquid sit, haud
7 temere esse rentur. Nec minorem motum animorum
Romae tam atrox res facit, quam Collatiae fecerat.
Ergo ex omnibus locis orbis in forum curritur. Quo
simul ventum est, praeco ad tribunum Celerum, in
quo tum magistratu forte Brutus erat, populum advo-
8 cavit. Ibi oratio habita nequaquam eius pectoris inge-
niique, quod simulatum ad eam diem fuerat, de vi ac
libidine Sex. Tarquinii, de stupro infando Lucretiae et
miserabili caede, de orbitate Tricipitini, cui morte filiae
9 causa mortis indignior ac miserabilior esset. Addita
superbia ipsius regis miseriaeque et labores plebis in
fossas cloacasque exhauriendas demersae: Romanos

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4. **Movet:** translate passively to bring out the emphasis; "men were affected." **auctor:** "advocating;" connect with *capiendi*. **quod:** = *id, quod*, anticipating *arma capiendi*. **adversus . . . ausos:** = *adv. eos, qui hostilia ausi essent;* brachylogy.

5. **regibus:** including members of the royal family. Cf. 41. 3.

7. **Celerum:** the king's bodyguard (15. 8). That their commander could legally call the assembly, as could the republican *magister equitum*, is doubtful.

8. **Tricipitini:** the cognomen of Lucretia's father.

9. **Addita:** sc. *est*, as with *memorata* below. **pro bellatoribus:** "instead of warriors true." *Bellatoribus* is Virgilian. **invecta:** i.e. the fact that she drove (48. 7).

homines, victores omnium circa populorum, opifices ac
lapicidas pro bellatoribus factos. Indigna Servi Tulli
regis memorata caedes et invecta corpori patris nefando
10 vehiculo filia, invocatique ultores parentum dii. His
atrocioribusque, credo, aliis, quae praesens rerum indig-
nitas haudquaquam relatu scriptoribus facilia subicit,
memoratis incensam multitudinem perpulit, ut impe-
rium regi abrogaret, exsulesque esse iuberet L. Tar-
11 quinium cum coniuge ac liberis. Ipse iunioribus, qui
ultro nomina dabant, lectis armatisque ad concitandum
inde adversus regem exercitum Ardeam in castra est
profectus; imperium in urbe Lucretio, praefecto urbis
12 iam ante ab rege instituto, relinquit. Inter hunc tumul-
tum Tullia domo profugit exsecrantibus, quacumque
incedebat, invocantibusque parentum furias viris mulieri-
busque.

1 LX. Harum rerum nuntiis in castra perlatis, cum re
nova trepidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos
motus, flexit viam Brutus — senserat enim adventum —,
ne obvius fieret; eodemque fere tempore diversis itineri-
bus Brutus Ardeam, Tarquinius Romam venerunt.
2 Tarquinio clausae portae exsiliumque indictum; libe-
ratorem urbis laeta castra accepere, exactique inde liberi
regis. Duo patrem secuti sunt, qui exsulatum Caere
in Etruscos ierunt. Sex. Tarquinius Gabios, tamquam
in suum regnum, profectus ab ultoribus veterum simul-
tatium, quas sibi ipse caedibus rapinisque conciverat,

10. scriptoribus: dat. of ref. with *facilia;* the latter is in apposition with *quae.* **subicit:** "always suggests." The whole thought is the graceful tribute of a writer to the vehemence and force of the spoken word.

11. Ardeam in castra: in Latin each place is destination. **praefecto urbis:** the urban prefect was always "acting-king" in the king's absence, *ne urbs sine imperio foret,* Tacitus, Ann. 6. 11.

12. Tullia: note the novel-like interest in reporting each character's fate.

LX. **1. flexit viam:** "changed his course." The position relieves the instant thought that the two would meet.

2. Tarquinio . . . liberatorem: their reception is remarked in chiastic order.

3 est interfectus. L. Tarquinius Superbus regnavit annos quinque et viginti. Regnatum Romae ab condita urbe ad liberatam annos ducentos quadraginta quattuor.

4 Duo consules inde comitiis centuriatis a praefecto urbis ex commentariis Servi Tulli creati sunt, L. Iunius Brutus et L. Tarquinius Collatinus

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3. Regnatum: "the monarchy had lasted;" *regnare* is intrans. The date is traditionally given as 509 B. C., but it is 506 B. C. according to Livy's chronology.

4. comitiis centuriatis: the assembly of the people by classes, or centuries, which, later especially, was of great political importance.

TITI LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER II.

1 I. Liberi iam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque
gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum poten-
2 tiora quam hominum peragam. Quae libertas ut lae-
tior esset, proximi regis superbia fecerat. Nam priores
ita regnarunt, ut haud immerito omnes deinceps con-
ditores partium certe urbis, quas novas ipsi sedes ab
3 se auctae multitudinis addiderunt, numerentur. Neque
ambigitur, quin Brutus idem, qui tantum gloriae Superbo
exacto rege meruit, pessimo publico id facturus fuerit,
si libertatis immaturae cupidine priorum regum alicui
4 regnum extorsisset. Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa
pastorum convenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis popu-
lis, sub tutela inviolati templi aut libertatem aut certe
impunitatem adepta, soluta regio metu, agitari coepta
esset tribuniciis procellis et in aliena urbe cum patribus
5 serere certamina, priusquam pignera coniugum ac libe-

I-II. 2. THE BEGINNING OF THE REPUBLIC.

I. **1. Liberi:** the word is a keynote to the contents. **annuos:** instead of a life tenure. See 7

2. ut . . . numerentur: the statement is from a contemporary point of view.

3. pessimo publico: 'with the greatest detriment to the state" **facturus fuerit:** the apodosis of unreal conditions after *quin* and other words requiring a dependent subjunctive, shows a peculiar periphrastic form, derived e.g. here from an emphatic *facturus fuit.*

4. convenarum: explained best by 1. 8 6 **sub tutela:** in the asylum (*templum*) of Romulus the newcomers, whether slaves or criminals, were secure from punishment. **regio:** = *regis*, objective. **coepta esset:** see on 1. 57. 3. **tribuniciis procellis:** i e. the stormy conflicts when the tribunes of the people, some of whom were demagogues, became more active.

5. pignera, etc.: "He that hath

rorum caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore adsuescitur,
6 animos eorum consociasset? Dissipatae res nondum
adultae discordia forent, quas fovit tranquilla mode-
ratio imperii, eoque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem
7 libertatis maturis iam viribus ferre possent. Libertatis
autem originem inde magis, quia annuum imperium
consulare factum est, quam quod deminutum quicquam
8 sit ex regia potestate, numeres. Omnia iura, omnia
insignia primi consules tenuere; id modo cautum est,
ne, si ambo fasces haberent, duplicatus terror videretur.

Brutus prior, concedente collega, fasces habuit; qui
non acrior vindex libertatis fuerat, quam deinde custos
9 fuit. Omnium primum avidum novae libertatis popu-
lum, ne postmodum flecti precibus aut donis regiis
posset, iure iurando adegit neminem Romae passuros
10 regnare. Deinde, quo plus virium in senatu frequentia
etiam ordinis faceret, caedibus regis deminutum patrum
numerum primoribus equestris gradus lectis ad trecen-
11 torum summam explevit; traditumque inde fertur, ut
in senatum vocarentur, qui patres quique conscripti
essent: conscriptos, videlicet novum senatum, appella-
bant lectos. Id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam
civitatis iungendosque patribus plebis animos.

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wife and children hath given hostages to fortune."—*Bacon*. **adsuescitur:** impersonal; "one grows attached."

6. eoque: "to such a state."

7. annuum: emphatic predicate. **diminutum . . . sit:** subjunctive from the analogy of a reason denied after *non quod*. The consuls as a matter of fact had less power than a king.

8. fasces: the bundles of rods with axes protruding, which, as the insignia of absolute authority, the lictors carried before the ruling consul.

9. avidum: "who were jealous." **postmodum:** = *postea*. **passuros:** infin. Sc. *se* in sense agreement with *populum*.

10. frequentia: "by the numerical strength." Cf. the opposite in 1. 49. 6. **ad summam explevit:** "rounded out to a total."

11. traditum: containing the idea of *mos*, is followed by the explanatory *ut* clause. **conscriptos:** the familiar *patres conscripti* is a case of asyndeton (= *patres et conscripti*), as is shown here. **mirum quantum:** colloquial, "wonderfully."

1 II. Rerum deinde divinarum habita cura; et quia quae-
dam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, necubi
2 regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum creant. Id
sacerdotium pontifici subiecere, ne additus nomini honos
aliquid libertati, cuius tunc prima erat cura, officeret.

1 IX. Iam Tarquinii ad Lartem Porsinnam, Clusinum
regem, perfugerant. Ibi miscendo consilium precesque
nunc orabant, ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, eiusdem
2 sanguinis nominisque, egentes exsulare pateretur, nunc
monebant etiam, ne orientem morem pellendi reges
4 inultum sineret. Porsinna, cum regem esse Romae
tum Etruscae gentis regem amplum Tuscis ratus, Romam
5 infesto exercitu venit. Non umquam alias ante tantus
terror senatum invasit; adeo valida res tum Clusina
erat magnumque Porsinnae nomen. Nec hostes modo
timebant, sed suosmet ipsi cives, ne Romana plebs
metu perculsa, receptis in urbem regibus, vel cum servi-
6 tute pacem acciperet. Multa igitur blandimenta plebi
7 per id tempus ab senatu data. Haec indulgentia patrum
asperis postmodum rebus in obsidione ac fame adeo
concordem civitatem tenuit, ut regium nomen non
8 summi magis quam infimi horrerent, nec quisquam
unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset, quam
tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit.

II. 1. **Rerum . . . divinarum:** see on *liberi*, 1. 1.

2. **pontifici:** sc. *maximo*. **prima cura:** so excessively did they guard their new liberty, that the consul L. Tarquinius Collatinus, although a liberator, was presently forced to abdicate on account of his name. Brutus himself was later regarded with suspicion (2. 7. 9).

IX. 1. 2. 4-8. X. TARQUIN'S EFFORTS TO REGAIN THE THRONE. HORATIUS AT THE BRIDGE.

IX. 1. **Tarquinii:** the banished king made various attempts to regain his throne, his appeal to Porsinna being his second attempt. His third and last effort was in the famous battle of Lake Regillus, 496 B. C. **Lartem:** a Romanized form of the Etruscan *larth*, "lord." **Clusinum:** see on 5. 33. 1.

4. **amplum Tuscis:** "a great honor for the Etrurians."

6. **blandimenta:** "special privileges."

1 X. Cum hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex
2 agris demigrant, urbem ipsam saepiunt praesidiis. Alia
muris, alia Tiberi obiecto videbantur tuta; pons sub-
licius iter paene hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset,
Horatius Cocles: id munimentum illo die fortuna urbis
3 Romanae habuit. Qui positus forte in statione pontis,
cum captum repentino impetu Ianiculum atque inde
citatos decurrere hostes vidisset, trepidamque turbam
suorum arma ordinesque relinquere, reprehensans sin-
4 gulos, obsistens obtestansque deum et hominum fidem,
testabatur nequiquam deserto praesidio eos fugere; si
transitum pontem a tergo reliquissent, iam plus hostium
in Palatio Capitolioque quam in Ianiculo fore. Itaque
monere, praedicere, ut pontem ferro, igni, quacumque
vi possint, interrumpant; se impetum hostium, quan-
tum corpore uno posset obsisti, excepturum.

5 Vadit inde in primum aditum pontis, insignisque
inter conspecta cedentium pugnae terga obversis com-
minus ad ineundum proelium armis ipso miraculo
6 audaciae obstupefecit hostes. Duos tamen cum eo
pudor tenuit, Sp. Larcium ac T. Herminium, ambos
7 claros genere factisque. Cum his primam periculi pro-
cellam et quod tumultuosissimum pugnae erat parumper
sustinuit; deinde eos quoque ipsos, exigua parte pontis
relicta, revocantibus qui rescindebant, cedere in tutum

X. 2. **Tiberi obiecto:** "by the barrier which the Tiber formed." **pons sublicius:** this wooden bridge on piles (*sublicae*), the first to span the Tiber at Rome, connected with the Janiculum and the roads thence to Etruria. **ni . . . fuisset:** see on 1. 48. 9. **Cocles:** *qui altero lumine orbi nascerentur, coclites vocabantur*, Pliny, Nat. Hist. 11, 150. Doubtless an inherited cognomen. **id munimentum:** "in him a tower of strength."

4. **deserto:** conditional. **transitum:** participle = *transissent*. It may be regarded as a subst., but cf. *ab tergo Alpes . . . transitae*, 21. 43. 4. **ferro,** etc.: a proverbial expression. Cf. 1. 59. 1.

5. **inter . . . terga:** i.e. amid men whose backs were most in evidence as they left the fight.

7. **quod tumultuosissimum:** "the brunt."

8 coegit. Circumferens inde truces minaciter oculos ad proceres Etruscorum nunc singulos provocare, nunc increpare omnes: servitia regum superborum, suae libertatis immemores alienam oppugnatum venire.

9 Cunctati aliquamdiu sunt, dum alius alium, ut proelium incipiant, circumspectant. Pudor deinde commovit aciem, et clamore sublato undique in unum hos-
10 tem tela coniciunt. Quae cum in obiecto cuncta scuto haesissent, neque ille minus obstinatus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu, iam impetu conabantur detrudere virum, cum simul fragor rupti pontis, simul clamor Romanorum alacritate perfecti operis sublatus, pavore
11 subito impetum sustinuit. Tum Cocles 'Tiberine pater,' inquit, 'te sancte precor, haec arma et hunc militem propitio flumine accipias'. Ita sic armatus in Tiberim desiluit, multisque superincidentibus telis incolumis ad suos tranavit, rem ausus plus famae habituram ad posteros quam fidei.

12 Grata erga tantam virtutem civitas fuit: statua in comitio posita; agri quantum uno die circumaravit datum. Privata quoque inter publicos honores studia
13 eminebant; nam in magna inopia pro domesticis copiis unusquisque aliquid fraudans se ipse victu suo contulit.

1 XXIII. Et bellum Volscum imminebat, et civitas secum

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8. Circumferens, etc.: note the tone here, which is but in keeping with the poetic coloring of the whole passage. **servitia:** = *servos.*

10. ingenti gradu: "with mighty stride."

11. propitio: a part of the prayer. See on 1. 16. 3. **sic:** "just as he was."

famae:

"Still is the story told,
How well Horatius kept the bridge,
In the brave days of old."
—*Macaulay, Horatius,* 587 ff.

fidei: "credibility." Livy's own admirable version of the legend has helped to make his prophecy a true one.

XXIII. THE CONDITION OF PLEBEIAN DEBTORS.

The defeat of Porsinna at Lake Regillus was followed by increasing arrogance on the part of the patricians, with oppression of the plebs; especially of the debtor class, which had increased during the wars.

1. nexos: = *obligatos.* These were

ipsa discors intestino inter patres plebemque flagrabat
2 odio, maxime propter nexos ob aes alienum. Fremebant
se foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes domi a civi-
bus captos et oppressos esse, tutioremque in bello quam
in pace, et inter hostis quam inter civis libertatem plebis
esse; invidiamque eam sua sponte gliscentem insignis
3 unius calamitas accendit. Magno natu quidam cum
omnium malorum suorum insignibus se in forum proiecit.
Obsita erat squalore vestis, foedior corporis habitus
4 pallore ac macie perempti; ad hoc promissa barba et
capilla efferaverant speciem oris. Noscitabatur tamen
in tanta deformitate, et ordines duxisse aiebant, aliaque
militiae decora vulgo miserantes eum iactabant; ipse
testes honestarum aliquot locis pugnarum cicatrices
5 adverso pectore ostentabat. Sciscitantibus, unde ille
habitus, unde deformitas, cum circumfusa turba esset
prope in contionis modum, Sabino bello ait se militan-
tem, quia propter populationes agri non fructu modo
caruerit, sed villa incensa fuerit, direpta omnia, pecora
abacta, tributum iniquo suo tempore imperatum, aes
6 alienum fecisse. Id cumulatum usuris primo se agro
paterno avitoque exuisse, deinde fortunis aliis, pos-
tremo velut tabem pervenisse ad corpus; ductum se
ab creditore non in servitium, sed in ergastulum et
7 carnificinam esse. Inde ostentare tergum foedum recen-
tibus vestigiis verberum. Ad haec visa auditaque clamor
ingens oritur. Non iam foro se tumultus continet, sed

technically slaves for debt, or peons, who were theoretically free otherwise; wholly so, if the debt could be paid, but there was large opportunity for abuse. **aes alienum**: "debt;" the Latin phrase is picturesque.

2. invidiamque eam: "the bitterness over this."

4. ad hoc: = *praeterea*. **promissa barba**: i.e. longer than usual. Cf. 5. 41. 9. Barbers were not introduced at Rome until about 300 B. C. **ordines duxisse**: sc. *eum;* i.e. was a centurion. **adverso pectore**: showing that he had always faced the foe.

5. Sabino bello: some ten years before. **tributum**. a special war tax.

6. cumulatum usuris: "with its burden of compound interest."

8 passim totam urbem pervadit. Nexi, vincti solutique,
se undique in publicum proripiunt, implorant Quiri-
tium fidem. Nullo loco deest seditionis voluntarius
comes; multis passim agminibus per omnes vias cum
clamore in forum curritur.
9 Magno cum periculo suo, qui forte patrum in foro
10 erant, in eam turbam inciderunt; nec temperatum
manibus foret, ni propere consules, P. Servilius et Ap.
Claudius, ad comprimendam seditionem intervenissent.
At in eos multitudo versa ostentare vincula sua defor-
11 mitatemque aliam. Haec se meritos dicere expro-
brantes suam quisque alius alibi militiam; postulare
multo minaciter magis quam suppliciter, ut senatum
vocarent, curiamque ipsi futuri arbitri moderatoresque
12 publici consilii circumsistunt. Pauci admodum patrum,
quos casus obtulerat, contracti ab consulibus; ceteros
metus non curia modo sed etiam foro arcebat, nec agi
13 quicquam per infrequentiam poterat senatus. Tum vero
eludi atque extrahi se multitudo putare, et patrum qui
abessent, non casu, non metu, sed impediendae rei
causa abesse, et consules ipsos tergiversari, nec dubie
14 ludibrio esse miserias suas. Iam prope erat, ut ne con-
sulum quidem maiestas coerceret iras hominum, cum
incerti, morando an veniendo plus periculi contraherent,
tandem in senatum veniunt; frequentique tandem curia

Roman money lenders were without restrictions until the XII Tables (451 B. C.). **in servitium:** it would have been regular for a debtor to work *in servitudine pro pecunia.*

8. **vincti solutique:** appositional; "whether in the chain gang or not." **fidem:** "protection." **voluntarius comes:** the ever ready crowd.

10. **manibus:** see on *templis,* 1. 29. 6. **Ap. Claudius:** A Romanized form of his native Sabine name Attius Clausus. Belonging to an unpopular peace party at home, he had fled to Rome (505 B. C.) and founded the gens so famous in later history.

11. **Haec se meritos:** sc. *esse;* ironical and emphatic: "this was their reward." **futuri,** etc.: "with the intention of being witnesses whose presence would give direction to the acts."

12. **infrequentiam:** "lack of a quorum."

14. **ut . . . coerceret:** subst. clause, subj. of *erat.*

non modo inter patres, sed ne inter consules quidem
ipsos satis conveniebat. Appius, vehementis ingenii vir,
imperio consulari rem agendam censebat: uno aut altero
adrepto quieturos alios; Servilius, lenibus remediis
aptior, concitatos animos flecti quam frangi putabat cum
tutius tum facilius esse.

1 XXXII. Timor inde patres incessit, ne, si dimissus exer-
citus foret, rursus coetus occulti coniurationesque fierent.
Itaque, quamquam per dictatorem dilectus habitus esset,
tamen, quoniam in consulum verba iurassent, sacra-
mento teneri militem rati, per causam renovati ab Aequis
belli educi ex urbe legiones iussere. Quo facto maturata
2 est seditio. Et primo agitatum dicitur de consulum
caede, ut solverentur sacramento; doctos deinde nullam
scelere religionem exsolvi, Sicinio quodam auctore iniussu
consulum in Sacrum montem secessisse — trans Anienem
3 amnem est, tria ab urbe milia passuum; ea frequentior
fama est quam, cuius Piso auctor est, in Aventinum
4 secessionem factam esse —; ibi sine ullo duce, vallo
fossaque communitis castris, quieti, rem nullam nisi
necessariam ad victum sumendo, per aliquot dies neque
lacessiti neque lacessentes sese tenuere.

5 Pavor ingens in urbe, metuque mutuo suspensa erant

XXXII. XXXIII. 1. 2. FIRST SECESSION OF THE PLEBS. THE FABLE OF MENENIUS AGRIPPA.

War with the Volscians, Sabines, Aruncians, and Aequians alternated with civil dissensions, as the plebs became more insistent upon having their wrongs redressed. Finally the plebs withdrew from the city, until concessions were made to safeguard their rights.

XXXII. 1. **dictatorem:** a supreme commander appointed in a crisis to avoid having the authority divided between two consuls. Cf. 3. 26. 6; 5. 46. 10. **habitus esset:** the subjunctive with *quamquam* is more common in later writers. **in verba:** the oath was dictated, and repeated *verbatim* by the soldiers.

2. **Sacrum montem:** a small hill to be seen to-day near where the Via Nomentana crosses the Anio.

3. **frequentior:** see on *plures*, 1. 24. 1. **Piso:** L. Calpurnius Piso, consul 133 B. C., author of *Annales*, a history of Rome from its earliest period down to his own day. See Introd. III.

omnia. Timere relicta ab suis plebes violentiam patrum;
timere patres residem in urbe plebem, incerti, manere
6 eam an abire mallent. Quamdiu autem tranquillam,
quae secesserit, multitudinem fore? Quid futurum deinde,
7 si quod externum interim bellum exsistat? Nullam pro-
fecto nisi in concordia civium spem reliquam ducere;
eam per aequa, per iniqua reconciliandam civitati esse.
8 Placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti Menenium
Agrippam, facundum virum et, quod inde oriundus erat,
plebi carum Is intromissus in castra prisco illo dicendi
et horrido modo nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse fertur:
9 tempore, quo in homine non, ut nunc, omnia in unum
consentientia, sed singulis membris suum cuique con-
silium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes
sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio ventri omnia quaeri,
ventrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis
10 voluptatibus frui; conspirasse inde, ne manus ad os
cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes con-
ficerent. Hac ira dum ventrem fame domare vellent,
ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem
11 venisse. Inde apparuisse ventris quoque haud segne
ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum, red-
dentem in omnis corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus
vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas, maturum con-
12 fecto cibo sanguinem. Comparando hinc, quam intes-
tina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in patres,
flexisse mentes hominum.

1 XXXIII. Agi deinde de concordia coeptum, conces-
sumque in condiciones, ut plebi sui magistratus essent

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7. per aequa, per iniqua: "by fair means or foul."

8. oratorem: see on 1. 38. 2. **inde:** = *ex plebe.* **nihil aliud:** sc. *fecisse.* The fable that follows is one of great antiquity.

9. indignatas: sc *esse.* **ventri:** dat. of advantage.

11. quo: "by which, as a matter of fact," hence the indic.

12. flexisse: with *fertur* (8).

XXXIII. **1. sacrosancti:** "inviolable," so that they might act fearlessly. **auxilii latio:** this right to

sacrosancti, quibus auxilii latio adversus consules esset,
2 neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. Ita tribuni plebei creati duo, C. Licinius et L. Albinus. Hi tres collegas sibi creaverunt; in his Sicinium fuisse, seditionis auctorem; de duobus, qui fuerint, minus con-
3 venit. Sunt, qui duos tantum in Sacro monte creatos tribunos esse dicant, ibique sacratam legem latam.

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bear aid, largely by the use of the veto, to oppressed plebeians corresponded to the *imperium* exercised by the consuls over the whole people. By degrees the tribunate became more than a protective magistracy, and still other rights were wrested from the patricians. The history of these struggles forms the largest part of the history of the Republic for two centuries.

2. fuisse: sc. *convenit.*

3. duos tantum: probably true in view of their relations to the two consuls. At a later period there were five, and after 457 B. C. there were ten.

TITI LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER III.

1 XXVI. Vis Sabinorum ingens prope ad moenia urbis infesta populatione venit; foedati agri, terror iniectus urbi est. Tum plebs benigne arma cepit; reclamantibus frustra
2 tribunis magni duo exercitus scripti. Alterum Nautius contra Sabinos duxit, castrisque ad Eretum positis per expeditiones parvas, plerumque nocturnis incursionibus, tantam vastitatem in Sabino agro reddidit, ut comparati ad eam prope intacti bello fines Romani vide-
3 rentur. Minucio neque fortuna nec vis animi eadem in gerendo negotio fuit; nam cum haud procul ab hoste

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XXVI-XXIX. 5. 7. WAR WITH THE SABINES; CINCINNATUS AS DICTATOR.

Rome's growth led naturally to severe conflicts with such neighbors as the Volscians, Aequians, and Sabines. In 458 B. C. the Sabines after a peace of ten years joined with the Aequians in making an attack upon Roman territory. The consuls, Nautius and Minucius, were sent against the invaders, but the latter proved unsuccessful against the Aequians on Algidus. His army was surrounded and besieged. In this crisis the Romans named the patrician farmer-statesman Cincinnatus as Dictator. Cf. Cic. de Sen. 56 in agris erant tum senatores, id est senes, siquidem aranti L. Quinctio Cincinnato nuntiatum est eum dictatorem esse factum.

XXVI. **1. prope ad:** *prope* though pleonastic points the adverbal force of *ad.* **foedati:** = *foede populati.* **benigne:** the attitude of the plebs was always an uncertain one, because of the inflammatory advice their tribunes usually gave.

2. Eretum: the nearest Sabine town, about 15 miles N. E. of Rome. **expeditiones:** "detachments." **reddidit:** = *effecit.*

3. fortuna: reckoned among the necessary qualifications of a good leader by Cic. Pomp. 47. **vis animi:** "mental vigor." **negotio;**

castra posuisset, nulla magnopere clade accepta castris
4 se pavidus tenebat. Quod ubi senserant hostes, crevit
ex metu alieno, ut fit, audacia, et nocte adorti castra,
postquam parum vis aperta profecerat, munitiones pos-
tero die circumdant. Quae priusquam undique vallo
obiectae clauderent exitus, quinque equites inter sta-
tiones hostium emissi Romam pertulere consulem exer-
5 citumque obsideri. Nihil tam inopinatum nec tam
insperatum accidere potuit. Itaque tantus pavor, tanta
trepidatio fuit, quanta si urbem, non castra hostes
6 obsiderent. Nautium consulem arcessunt. In quo cum
parum praesidii videretur dictatoremque dici placeret,
qui rem perculsam restitueret, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus
consensu omnium dicitur.

7 Operae pretium est audire, qui omnia prae divitiis
humana spernunt, neque honori magno locum neque
8 virtuti putant esse, nisi ubi effuse afluant opes. Spes
unica imperii populi Romani, L. Quinctius trans Tiberim,
contra eum ipsum locum, ubi nunc navalia sunt, quat-
tuor iugerum colebat agrum, quae prata Quinctia vocan-
9 tur. Ibi ab legatis, seu fossam fodiens palae innixus

"commission; the highest honor was in the charge: *negotium datum est, videret, ne quid detrimenti res publica caperet.*

4. **ubi senserant:** The pluperf. would seem to mean borne in upon them after seeing him continue within camp. *Postquam* with the pluperf. is common for single actions. **alieno:** i.e. *Romanorum;* subjective. **undique vallo obiectae:** "by blocking the entire way with a *vallum.*"

5. **quanta:** sc. *esset.*

6. **rem . . . restitueret:** expressing purpose. Cf. the famous line of Ennius about Fabius Maximus: *Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem,* Cic. de Sen. 10. **Cincinnatus:** pre-eminently a man of action combined with rare wisdom. He was consul 460 B. C., and is described (19. 3.) as *potens favore patrum, virtute sua, tribus liberis.*

7. **Operae:** see on Praef. 1. **audire:** sc. *eos* as subject. **unica:** stronger than *una.* Cf. 1. 21. 2.

8. **iugerum:** descriptive genitive. The four *iugera* were somewhat less than three acres.

9. **fodiens:** = *dum fodit:* parallel with *cum araret.* **palae innixus:** i.e. throwing his weight upon a spade. **salute . . . redditaque:** "after greetings had been exchanged." Both this and *rogatus* are prior to *admiratus.* **quod bene verteret:** = *q. b. vertat* in dir. disc.

seu cum araret, operi certe, id quod constat, agresti
intentus, salute data in vicem redditaque rogatus, ut,
quod bene verteret ipsi reique publicae, togatus man-
data senatus audiret, admiratus rogitansque 'satin
salve?' togam propere e tugurio proferre uxorem Raci-
10 liam iubet. Qua simul absterso pulvere ac sudore velatus
processit, dictatorem eum legati gratulantes consalutant,
in urbem vocant, qui terror sit in exercitu, exponunt.
11 Navis Quinctio publice parata fuit, transvectumque tres
obviam egressi filii excipiunt, inde alii propinqui atque
amici, tum patrum maior pars. Ea frequentia stipatus,
12 antecedentibus lictoribus, deductus est domum. Et
plebis concursus ingens fuit; sed ea nequaquam tam
laeta Quinctium vidit, et imperii nimium et virum ipso
imperio vehementiorem rata. Et illa quidem nocte nihil
praeterquam vigilatum est in urbe.

1 XXVII. Postero die dictator, cum ante lucem in forum
venisset, magistrum equitum dicit L. Tarquitium, patriciae
gentis, sed qui, cum stipendia pedibus propter pau-
pertatem fecisset, bello tamen primus longe Romanae
2 iuventutis habitus esset. Cum magistro equitum in
contionem venit, iustitium edicit, claudi tabernas tota
urbe iubet, vetat quemquam privatae quicquam rei
3 agere. Tum, quicumque aetate militari essent, armati
cum cibariis in dies quinque coctis vallisque duodenis

Sc. *res* as subject. An introductory wish in beginning formal business. **togatus:** the proper costume for state business. Cincinnatus was clad only in his tunic. Cf. Verg. Georgics 1. 299 *nudus ara, sere nudus.* **satin salve?** colloquial = *satisne salve agis?* "is all well?"

10. consalutant, etc.: note the haste in the asyndeton.

11. domum: this city property contradicts the popular story of his poverty.

12. nimium: a subst. **vehementiorem:** "apt arbitrarily to transcend."

XXVII. **1. Tarquitium:** tradition had changed the *nomen abominandum* of the Tarquinii. Cf. 2. 2. 11. **pedibus:** the patrician was usually mounted.

2. iustitium: a suspension of legal business.

3. cibariis: "rations." **duodenis:** the usual number was three or four. **adessent:** "report." The

4 ante solis occasum Martio in campo adessent; quibus
aetas ad militandum gravior esset, vicino militi, dum
is arma pararet vallumque peteret, cibaria coquere
iussit. Sic iuventus discurrit ad vallum petendum.
5 Sumpsere, unde cuique proximum fuit; prohibitus nemo
est; impigreque omnes ad edictum dictatoris praesto
6 fuere. Inde composito agmine, non itineri magis apti
quam proelio, si res ita tulisset, legiones ipse dictator,
magister equitum suos equites ducit. In utroque agmine
7 quas tempus ipsum poscebat adhortationes erant: adde-
rent gradum; maturato opus esse, ut nocte ad hostem
perveniri posset. Consulem exercitumque Romanum
obsideri, tertium diem iam clausos esse; quid quaeque
nox aut dies ferat, incertum esse; puncto saepe temporis
8 maximarum rerum momenta verti. 'Accelera, signifer!'
'Sequere, miles!' inter se quoque gratificantes ducibus
clamabant. Media nocte in Algidum perveniunt et,
ut sensere se iam prope hostes esse, signa constituunt.
1 XXVIII. Ibi dictator, quantum nocte prospici poterat,
equo circumvectus contemplatusque, qui tractus castro-
rum quaeque forma esset, tribunis militum imperavit,
ut sarcinas in unum conici iubeant, militem cum armis
valloque redire in ordines suos. Facta quae imperavit.
2 Tum, quo fuerant ordine in via, exercitum omnem longo
agmine circumdat hostium castris, et, ubi signum datum
sit, clamorem omnes tollere iubet, clamore sublato
3 ante se quemque ducere fossam et iacere vallum. Edito

---

usual construction occurs below in *coquere*.

4. quibus: = *eos, quibus*. **militi:** collective, as is *vallum* below.

5. unde: = *inde, ubi*.

6. apti: = *cum apti essent*.

7. adderent gradum: they were to "double quick." **maturato:** translate "haste," an archaic use of the perf. ptcp. as substantive with *opus esse*. **maximarum . . . verti:** "the decision of the greatest issues hinges."

XXVIII. **1. imperavit:** the act of the *imperator*, in contrast with *iubeant*.

2. tollere . . . sublato: cf. *cepisse, captum*, 1. 5. 3.

imperio signum secutum est. Iussa miles exsequitur.
Clamor hostes circumsonat; superat inde castra hos-
4 tium et in castra consulis venit; alibi pavorem, alibi
gaudium ingens facit. Romani civilem esse clamorem
atque auxilium adesse inter se gratulantes ultro ex
5 stationibus ac vigiliis territant hostem. Consul differen-
dum negat: illo clamore non adventum modo significari,
sed rem ab suis coeptam; mirumque esse, ni iam exte-
6 riore parte castra hostium oppugnentur. Itaque arma
suos capere et se subsequi iubet. Nocte initum proelium
est; legionibus dictatoris clamore significant ab ea quo-
7 que parte rem in discrimine esse. Iam se ad prohibenda
circumdari opera Aequi parabant, cum ab interiore hoste
proelio coepto, ne per media sua castra fieret eruptio,
a munientibus ad pugnantes introrsum versi vacuam
noctem operi dedere; pugnatumque cum consule ad
8 lucem est. Luce prima iam circumvallati ab dictatore
erant, et vix adversus unum exercitum pugnam sustine-
bant. Tum a Quinctiano exercitu, qui confestim a
perfecto opere ad arma rediit, invaditur vallum. Hic
9 instabat nova pugna; illa nihil remiserat prior. Tum
ancipiti malo urgente, a proelio ad preces versi hinc
dictatorem, hinc consulem orare, ne in occidione vic-
toriam ponerent, ut inermes se inde abire sinerent. Ab
consule ad dictatorem ire iussi; is ignominiam infensus
10 addidit; Gracchum Cloelium ducem principesque alios

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5. mirum . . . ni: colloquial, "very likely."

6. rem in discrimine esse: "that the fight was on."

7. vacuam . . . dedere: "left free for," so that during the night the rescuing forces put a circumvallation about the Aequi, who were thus caught between two Roman armies.

8. Quinctiano: = *Quinctii;* see Introd. V. 2. *d.* **vallum:** of the Aequi.

9. ne . . . ponerent: "not to make victory signify total slaughter."

10. Gracchum Cloelium: see on 1. 46. 4. He was *longe princeps in Aequis* (25. 5). **decedi:** impersonal. "the evacuation of." **sanguinis:** the genitive with *egere* is rare, and perhaps colloquial.

vinctos ad se adduci iubet, oppido Corbione decedi: sanguinis se Aequorum non egere; licere abire; sed, ut exprimatur tandem confessio subactam domitamque esse
11 gentem, sub iugum abituros. Tribus hastis iugum fit, humi fixis duabus superque eas transversa una deligata. Sub hoc iugum dictator Aequos misit.

1 XXIX. Castris hostium receptis plenis omnium rerum — nudos enim emiserat — praedam omnem suo tantum
2 militi dedit; consularem exercitum ipsumque consulem increpans 'carebis' inquit 'praedae parte, miles, ex eo hoste, cui prope praedae fuisti; et tu, L. Minuci, donec consularem animum incipias habere, legatus his legio-
3 nibus praeeris.' Ita se Minucius abdicat consulatu, iussusque ad exercitum manet. Sed adeo tum imperio meliori animus mansuete oboediens erat, ut beneficii magis quam ignominiae hic exercitus memor et coronam auream dictatori libram pondo decreverit, et proficiscentem eum patronum salutaverit.

4 Romae a Q. Fabio praefecto urbis senatus habitus triumphantem Quinctium, quo veniebat agmine, urbem ingredi iussit. Ducti ante currum hostium duces, militaria signa praelata, secutus exercitus praeda onustus.
5 Epulae instructae dicuntur fuisse ante omnium domus, epulantesque cum carmine triumphali et sollemnibus iocis comisantium modo currum secuti sunt.

7 Quinctius sexto decimo die dictatura in sex menses accepta se abdicavit.

XXIX. 1. **receptis:** = *captis*, as often. **nudos:** associate with *inermes* in the hard terms of surrender. **tantum:** = *modo*.

2. **praedae** (*fuisti*): dative of purpose.

3. **imperio meliori:** "superior authority and worth." **decreverit.** See on *abstulerit*, 1. 16. 1.

4. **praefecto urbis:** this officer represented the consuls in their absence. Cf. 1. 59. 11. **triumphantem:** the position emphasizes the voluntary action of the senate; nor was there the customary delay outside the city.

5. **epulantes:** sc. *milites*. **carmine triumphali:** not technically a *carmen triumphale*. Cf. 5. 49. 7. **sollemnibus:** "customary."

1 XXXIII. Anno trecentesimo altero, quam condita Roma erat, iterum mutatur forma civitatis, ab consulibus ad decemviros, quem ad modum ab regibus ante ad consules venerat, translato imperio. Minus insignis, quia
2 non diuturna, mutatio fuit. Laeta enim principia magistratus eius nimis luxuriavere; eo citius lapsa res est, repetitumque, duobus uti mandaretur consulum nomen imperiumque.

3 Decemviri creati Ap. Claudius, T. Genucius, P. Sestius, L. Veturius, C. Iulius, A. Manlius, P. Sulpicius,
4 P. Curiatius, T. Romilius, Sp. Postumius. Claudio et Genucio, quia designati consules in eum annum fuerant, pro honore honos redditus, et Sestio, alteri consulum prioris anni, quod eam rem, collega invito, ad patres
5 rettulerat. His proximi habiti legati tres, qui Athenas ierunt, simul ut pro legatione tam longinqua praemio esset honos, simul peritos legum peregrinarum ad condenda nova iura usui fore credebant. Supplevere ceteri
6 numerum. Graves quoque aetate electos novissimis suf-

XXXIII-XXXVIII. 5. XLII. 1-3. 6. 7. XLIII. THE DECEMVIRS AND THE TWELVE TABLES.

Rome's greatest legacy to the modern world was not on the side of language and literature, great as that has been, but in government and law. "She reigns throughout the world by her reason, after having ceased to reign by her authority." Prior to the middle of the fifth century B. C. there was no formulated code at Rome. Endless confusion and much injustice had arisen in administering unwritten laws, especially in the strained relations between patricians and plebeians. This constant friction led, according to tradition, to the sending of a special Commission of three men to Greece to study their codes (3. 31. 8). *It was next resolved that ten men should be elected to rule absolutely for one year, that they might codify the laws of the state.*

XXXIII. 1. **Anno . . . altero:** the Fasti Consulares give 303 A. U. C., but Livy either has in mind the beginning of the movement, or is following another source.

2. **magistratus eius:** "of this régime."

4. **alteri consulum:** "one of the two consuls." Sestius had moved this whole measure (*eam rem*) in the senate.

5. **legati tres:** Manlius, Sulpicius, and Postumius (31. 8). **praemio:** dat. of purpose; so *usui* below.

6. **quoque:** i.e old, besides merely serving to round out the number.

fragiis ferunt, quo minus ferociter aliorum scitis adver-
7 sarentur. Regimen totius magistratus penes Appium erat favore plebis; adeoque novum sibi ingenium induerat, ut plebicola repente omnisque aurae popularis captator evaderet pro truci saevoque insectatore plebis.

8 Decimo die ius populo singuli reddebant. Eo die penes praefectum iuris fasces duodecim erant; collegis novem singuli accensi apparebant. Et in unica concordia inter ipsos, qui consensus privatis interdum
9 inutilis est, summa adversus alios aequitas erat. Moderationis eorum argumentum exemplo unius rei notasse satis erit. Cum sine provocatione creati essent, defosso cadavere domi apud P. Sestium, patriciae gentis virum,
10 invento prolatoque in contionem, in re iuxta manifesta atque atroci C. Iulius decemvir diem Sestio dixit, et accusator ad populum exstitit, cuius rei iudex legitimus erat, decessitque iure suo, ut demptum de vi magistratus populi libertati adiceret.

1 XXXIV. Cum promptum hoc ius, velut ex oraculo incorruptum, pariter ab iis summi infimique ferrent, tum legibus condendis opera dabatur; ingentique hominum expectatione propositis decem tabulis, populum ad con-
2 tionem advocaverunt, et, quod bonum, faustum, felixque rei publicae, ipsis liberisque eorum esset, ire et legere
3 leges propositas iussere: se, quantum decem hominum ingeniis provideri potuerit, omnibus, summis infimisque, iura aequasse; plus pollere multorum ingenia consilia-

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8. Decimo: sc. *quoque;* "every tenth day." **praefectum iuris:** after the analogy of *praefectus urbis*, one at the head *pro tempore*. **singuli accensi:** the rest had each an attendant, while the lictors escorted only the *praefectus*. **qui consensus:** see on *quae preces*, 1. 9. 16.

9. sine provocatione: there was no right of appeal from their decisions. **invento:** the predicate of *defosso cadavere*. **P. Sestium:** not the decemvir.

10. diem dixit: "brought an action against." **rei:** = *si reus apud se factus esset*. **demptum:** see on *degeneratum*, 1. 53. 1.

XXXIV. **2. quod bonum, faustum, felixque . . . esset:** an introductory wish often used in formal announcements. See on 26. 9.

4 que. Versarent in animis secum unamquamque rem,
agitarent deinde sermonibus atque in medium, quid in
5 quaque re plus minusve esset, conferrent: eas leges habi-
turum populum Romanum, quas consensus omnium non
iussisse latas magis quam tulisse videri posset.

6 Cum ad rumores hominum de unoquoque legum
capite editos satis correctae viderentur, centuriatis
comitiis decem tabularum leges perlatae sunt, qui nunc
quoque in hoc immenso aliarum super alias acerva-
tarum legum cumulo fons omnis publici privatique est
7 iuris. Vulgatur deinde rumor duas deesse tabulas,
quibus adiectis, absolvi posse velut corpus omnis Romani
iuris. Ea expectatio, cum dies comitiorum adpropin-
8 quaret, desiderium decemviros iterum creandi fecit. Iam
plebs, praeterquam quod consulum nomen haud secus
quam regum perosa erat, ne tribunicium quidem aux-
ilium, cedentibus in vicem appellationi decemviris,
quaerebat.

1 XXXV. Postquam vero comitia decemviris creandis in
2 trinum nundinum indicta sunt, tanta exarsit ambitio, ut
primores quoque civitatis — metu, credo, ne tanti possessio
imperii, vacuo ab se relicto loco, haud satis dignis pateret
— prensarent homines, honorem summa ope a se impug-
natum ab ea plebe, cum qua contenderant, suppliciter

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4. **Versarent:** = *versate* in dir. disc. **in medium . . . conferrent:** "bring up for open discussion." **plus minusve:** "excessive or inadequate." **non . . . tulisse:** "not so much to have voted their adoption when proposed, as to have proposed them for adoption."

6. **ad rumores . . . editos:** "according to the views expressed." **fons . . . iuris:** they were graven in bronze, posted (57. 10), and according to Cicero (de Leg. 2. 9), even in his time were learned by schoolboys.

8. **cedentibus:** the decemvirs would now allow appeals from one of their number to another, because the *plebs* had waived their constitutional defenders, the tribunes.

XXXV. 1. **in trinum nundinum:** "for the third market day," i.e. after at least seventeen days.

2. **relicto:** conditional. **a se impugnatum:** "which they had formerly opposed," because through it the *plebs* were more likely to gain ground.

3 petentes. Demissa iam in discrimen dignitas ea aetate
iisque honoribus actis stimulabat Ap. Claudium. Nescires,
utrum inter decemviros an inter candidatos numerares.
4 Propior interdum petendo quam gerendo magistratui
erat: criminari optimates, extollere candidatorum levis-
simum quemque humillimumque, ipse medius inter
5 tribunicios, Duillios Iciliosque, in foro volitare, per illos
se plebi venditare, donec collegae quoque, qui unice
illi dediti fuerant ad id tempus, coniecere in eum oculos,
6 mirantes, quid sibi vellet. Apparere nihil sinceri esse;
profecto haud gratuitam in tanta superbia comitatem
fore; nimium in ordinem se ipsum cogere et vulgari
cum privatis non tam properantis abire magistratu quam
viam ad continuandum magistratum quaerentis esse.
7 Propalam obviam ire cupiditati parum ausi, obsecun-
dando mollire impetum adgrediuntur. Comitiorum illi
habendorum, quando minimus natu sit, munus consensu
8 iniungunt. Ars haec erat, ne semet ipse creare posset,
quod praeter tribunos plebi, et id ipsum pessimo exemplo,
nemo umquam fecisset.

Ille enimvero, quod bene vertat, habiturum se comitia
9 professus, impedimentum pro occasione arripuit, deiectis-
que honore per coitionem duobus Quinctiis, Capitolino
et Cincinnato, et patruo suo C. Claudio, constantissimo
viro in optimatium causa, et aliis eiusdem fastigii civibus,
10 nequaquam splendore vitae pares decemviros creat, se

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3. Demissa, etc.: the fact that a man of his position, in his prime, and one who had been consul and decemvir (*ea . . . actis*), was at all brought in danger of retirement spurred Appius on. **Nescires:** past potential of the indef. second person.

5. se . . . venditare: "curried the favor of the Commons."

6. in tanta superbia comitatem: 'affability in one so haughty." **in ordinem . . . cogere:** "that his thus reducing himself to the ranks;" after *apparere* and subject of *esse*. **properantis:** pred. poss. gen.

7. obsecundando: "by compliance;" the next sentence explains the manner. **illi:** dat. with *iniungunt*.

9. impedimentum: i.e. what was meant to be an obstacle. **per coitionem:** "by collusion." **fastigii:** "eminence."

in primis, quod haud secus factum improbabant boni,
11 quam nemo facere ausurum crediderat. Creati cum eo
M. Cornelius Maluginensis, M. Sergius, L. Minucius,
Q. Fabius Vibulanus, Q. Poetilius, T. Antonius Merenda,
K. Duillius, Sp. Oppius Cornicen, M'. Rabuleius.

1 XXXVI. Ille finis Appio alienae personae ferendae fuit;
suo iam inde vivere ingenio coepit, novosque collegas, iam
priusquam inirent magistratum, in suos mores formare.
2 Cottidie coibant remotis arbitris; inde impotentibus
instructi consiliis, quae secreto ab aliis coquebant, iam
haud dissimulando superbiam, rari aditus, colloquentibus
difficiles, ad Idus Maias rem perduxere.

3 Idus tum Maiae sollemnes ineundis magistratibus
erant. Inito igitur magistratu, primum honoris diem
denuntiatione ingentis terroris insignem fecere. Nam
cum ita priores decemviri servassent, ut unus fasces
haberet, et hoc insigne regium in orbem suam cuiusque
vicem per omnes iret, subito omnes cum duodenis fasci-
4 bus prodiere. Centum viginti lictores forum imple-
verant, et cum fascibus secures inligatas praeferebant;
nec attinuisse demi securem, cum sine provocatione
creati essent, interpretabantur.

5 Decem regum species erat, multiplicatusque terror
non infimis solum, sed primoribus patrum ratis caedis
causam ac principium quaeri, ut, si quis memorem
libertatis vocem aut in senatu aut in populo misisset,
statim virgae securesque etiam ad ceterorum metum

XXXVI. 1. **alienae . . . ferendae**: "of acting a role other than his own."

2. **impotentibus**: "mad." **rari aditus**: descriptive gen. parallel with *difficiles*.

3. **sollemnes**: "customary." The oldest Roman year began Mar. 1: hence September, "the seventh," etc. **honoris**: "tenure of office." **denuntiatione**, etc.: "a demonstration that caused great alarm." **suam . . . vicem**: "to each in his turn." See on 1. 9. 15.

4. **impleverant**: see on 1. 29. 4. **secures**: since the Lex Valeria (508 B. C.) the fasces of the consuls when in the city had had no axes, symbolizing power of life and death. **nec attenuisse**: "that it made no difference."

6 expedirentur. Nam praeterquam quod in populo nihil
erat praesidii sublata provocatione, intercessionem quo-
que consensu sustulerant, cum priores decemviri appel-
latione collegae corrigi reddita ab se iura tulissent, et
quaedam, quae sui indicii videri possent, ad populum
reiecissent.

7 Aliquamdiu aequatus inter omnes terror fuit; pau-
latim totus vertere in plebem coepit. Abstinebatur a
patribus; in humiliores libidinose crudeliterque con-
sulebatur. Hominum, non causarum toti erant, ut apud
8 quos gratia vim aequi haberet. Iudicia domi conflabant,
pronuntiabant in foro. Si quis collegam appellasset, ab
eo, ad quem venerat, ita discedebat, ut paeniteret non
9 prioris decreto stetisse. Opinio etiam sine auctore exierat
non in praesentis modo temporis eos iniuriam con-
spirasse, sed foedus clandestinum inter ipsos iure iurando
ictum, ne comitia haberent, perpetuoque decemviratu
possessum semel obtinerent imperium.

1 XXXVII. Circumspectare tum patriciorum vultus
plebei, et inde libertatis captare auram, unde servitutem
timendo in eum statum rem publicam adduxerant.
2 Primores patrum odisse decemviros, odisse plebem; nec
probare, quae fierent, et credere haud indignis accidere;
avide ruendo ad libertatem in servitutem elapsos iuvare
3 nolle; cumulare quoque iniurias, ut taedio praesentium
consules duo tandem et status pristinus rerum in desi-
derium veniant.

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6. cum . . . tulissent: "whereas the former decemvirs had allowed their rulings to be corrected by appeal to a colleague."

7. libidinose: "arbitrarily." **Hominum:** poss. gen. with *toti;* they were wholly "respecters of persons." **gratia:** "powerful influence."

8. appellasset: iterative. There was the right of appeal from one decemvir to another (34. 8), but not to the people (36. 4). **non . . . stetisse:** "that he had not abided by the decision of the first one."

XXXVII. **1. plebei:** = *plebeii;* subject of the hist. inf.

2. haud indignis: i.e. the plebians deserved it all. **elapsos:** = *eos, qui elapsi erant.*

3. in desiderium veniant: "come to be desired."

4 Iam et processerat pars maior anni, et duae tabulae legum ad prioris anni decem tabulas erant adiectae, nec quicquam iam supererat, si eae quoque leges centuriatis comitiis perlatae essent, cur eo magistratu rei
5 publicae opus esset. Expectabant, quam mox consulibus creandis comitia edicerentur. Id modo plebes agitabat, quonam modo tribuniciam potestatem, munimentum libertati, rem intermissam, repararent, cum interim mentio comitiorum nulla fieri.

1 XXXVIII. Idus Maiae venere. Nullis subrogatis magistratibus, privati pro decemviris, neque animis ad imperium inhibendum imminutis neque ad speciem honoris insignibus, prodeunt. Id vero regnum haud dubie videri.
2 Deploratur in perpetuum libertas, nec vindex quisquam exsistit aut futurus videtur. Nec ipsi solum desponderant animos, sed contemni coepti erant a finitimis populis, imperiumque ibi esse, ubi non esset libertas, indignabantur.

3 Sabini magna manu incursionem in agrum Romanum fecere, lateque populati, cum hominum atque pecudum inulti praedas egissent, recepto ad Eretum, quod passim vagatum erat, agmine castra locant, spem in discordia Romana ponentes: eam impedimentum dilectui fore.
4 Non nuntii solum, sed per urbem agrestium fuga trepidationem iniecit. Decemviri consultant, quid opus facto sit, destituti inter patrum et plebis odia, addit terrorem
5 insuper alium fortuna. Aequi alia ex parte castra in

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5. intermissam: cf. 34. 8. **fieri:** the hist. inf. after *cum* is in the style of Sallust.

XXXVIII. **1. subrogatis:** = *creatis*. **privati:** because their term of office had expired. **imminutis:** with *insignibus* as well as with *animis*. **regnum:** for their feeling against this, cf. 2. 1. 9, and 2. 7.

2. ipsi: the citizens. **indignabantur:** the *finitimi populi* felt that Rome should not exercise *imperium* over them, if she could not preserve her own freedom.

3. hominum, pecudum: apposit. gen. with *praedas*. See on 1. 13. 2. **eam:** for *id*, since the dem. pron. is regularly attracted to the predicate. See on 2. 10. 2.

Algido locant, depopulanturque inde excursionibus Tus-
culanum agrum. Legati ea ab Tusculo praesidium
orantes nuntiant.

1 XLII. Nihilo militiae quam domi melius res publica
2 administrata est. Illa modo in ducibus culpa, quod, ut
odio essent civibus, fecerant; alia omnis penes milites noxia
erat, qui, ne quid ductu atque auspicio decemvirorum
prospere usquam gereretur, vinci se per suum atque
3 illorum dedecus patiebantur. Fusi et ab Sabinis ad
6 Eretum et in Algido ab Aequis exercitus erant. Romam
tanti erant terrores adlati, ut posito iam decemvirali
odio patres vigilias in urbe habendas censerent, omnes,
qui per aetatem arma ferre possent, custodire moenia
7 ac pro portis stationes agere iuberent, arma Tusculum
ac supplementum decernerent, decemvirosque ab arce
Tusculi degressos in castris militem habere; castra alia
a Fidenis in Sabinum agrum transferri, belloque ultro
inferendo deterreri hostes a consilio urbis oppugnandae.

1 XLIII. Ad clades ab hostibus acceptas duo nefanda
2 facinora decemviri belli domique adiciunt. L. Siccium in
Sabinis, per invidiam decemviralem tribunorum creando-
rum secessionisque mentiones ad vulgus militum sermoni-
bus occultis serentem, prospeculatum ad locum castris
3 capiendum mittunt. Datur negotium militibus, quos mise-

XLII. Such an invasion by the Sabines and the Aequians simultaneously led the decemvirs to consult with the senate. The greatest difficulty was experienced in summoning the scattered and reluctant senators. In the stormy session that followed there was more discussion of the state, with thrusts at the decemvirs, than of measures for repressing the enemy. A levy, however, was at length voted, but the disaffected troops were readily defeated.

2. **noxia**: for variety after *culpa*.

6. **terrores**: "alarming news," the plur. referring to two defeats.

7. **Tusculum**: sc. *mitti*. **ultro**: an offensive campaign was to be the best defense.

XLIII. 1. **belli domique**: reverse of usual order to emphasize the unseasonableness of their conduct.

2. **per**: "taking advantage of." Cf. 1. 11. 1. **secessionis**: doubtless suggested by their being near Mons Sacer (2. 32).

rant expeditionis eius comites, ut eum opportuno adorti
4 loco interficerent. Haud inultum interfecere; nam circa
repugnantem aliquot insidiatores cecidere, cum ipse se
praevalidus pari viribus animo circumventus tutaretur.
5 Nuntiant in castra ceteri praecipitatum in insidias esse;
Siccium egregie pugnantem militesque quosdam cum eo
6 amissos. Primo fides nuntiantibus fuit; profecta deinde
cohors ad sepeliendos qui ceciderant decemvirorum per-
missu, postquam nullum spoliatum ibi corpus Sicciumque
in medio iacentem armatum, omnibus in eum versis
corporibus, videre, hostium neque corpus ullum nec
vestigia abeuntium, profecto ab suis interfectum me-
7 morantes rettulere corpus. Invidiaeque plena castra erant,
et Romam ferri protinus Siccium placebat, ni decemviri
funus militare ei publica impensa facere maturassent.
Sepultus ingenti militum maestitia, pessima decem-
virorum in vulgus fama est.

1 XLIV. Sequitur aliud in urbe nefas ab libidine ortum,
haud minus foedo eventu, quam quod per stuprum
caedemque Lucretiae urbe regnoque Tarquinios expulerat,
ut non finis solum idem decemviris, qui regibus, sed
causa etiam eadem imperii amittendi esset.

Ap. Claudium virginis plebeiae stuprandae libido
2 cepit. Pater virginis, L. Verginius, honestum ordinem
in Algido ducebat, vir exempli recti domi militiaeque.
Perinde uxor instituta fuerat, liberique instituebantur.

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4. **Haud inultum:** "not without telling resistance." **circa:** = *circum.* **pari . . . animo:** "with a courage equal to his strength."

6. **videre . . . rettulere:** agreement according to sense.

7. **est:** with *sepultus.*

XLIV-XLVIII. 7. XLIX. LI. 11-13. THE STORY OF VERGINIA; HER PERSECUTION BY APPIUS.

XLIV. 1. **expulerat:** i.e. had caused their expulsion; brachylogy.

2. **honestum ordinem . . . ducebat:** "was serving as a centurion with distinction." **liberique:** but at 45. 9 Verginia is *unica filia.* Cf. Gell. 2. 13 *antiqui etiam unum filium filiamve "liberos" appellarunt.* The German "Weib und *Kind*" is the reverse practice.

3 Desponderat filiam L. Icilio tribunicio, viro acri et pro
4 causa plebis expertae virtutis. Hanc virginem adultam,
forma excellentem Appius amore amens pretio ac spe
perlicere adortus, postquam omnia pudore saepta animad-
vertit, ad crudelem superbamque vim animum convertit.
5 M. Claudio clienti negotium dedit, ut virginem in servi-
tutem adsereret neque cederet secundum libertatem
postulantibus vindicias, quod pater puellae abesset,
6 locum iniuriae esse ratus. Virgini venienti in forum —
ibi namque in tabernis litterarum ludi erant — minister
decemviri libidinis manum iniecit, serva sua natam
servamque appellans sequique se iubebat: cunctantem
7 vi abstracturum. Pavida puella stupente, ad clamorem
nutricis fidem Quiritium implorantis fit concursus. Ver-
gini patris sponsique Icili populare nomen celebratur.
Notos gratia eorum, turbam indignitas rei virgini con-
8 ciliat. Iam a vi tuta erat, cum adsertor nihil opus esse
multitudine concitata ait: se iure grassari, non vi. Vocat
9 puellam in ius. Auctoribus qui aderant, ut sequeretur,
ad tribunal Appi perventum est. Notam iudici fabulam

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3. **Desponderat:** the compound is regular, the girl being promised away from her own home.

4. **amore amens:** "senselessly sensual."

5. **in servitutem adsereret:** "claim as his slave." The term is a legal one, representing originally an actual struggle for the property. **neque . . . vindicias:** "and not yield to those demanding her liberation meantime." In a case affecting personal freedom the presumption of the XII Tables, which the decemvirs themselves had made, was in favor of liberty (*secundum libertatem*) until the ownership could be established. **quod . . . abesset:** after *ratus*.

6. **litterarum ludi:** these schools were privately kept in some of the small shops (*tabernae*) on the N. and S. sides of the Forum. Both sexes might attend and the pupil was regularly accompanied by a servant (*nutricis*, 7). **manum iniecit:** the legal phrase for formal arrest.

8. **adsertor:** "claimant" (*petitor* in 9). **iure grassari:** further defined by *Vocat in ius*. Legally Verginia, whether considered as a maiden under the control of her father (*in patria potestate*) or as the subject of the suit, could not be the defendant. Livy uses regular legal terms for a high-handed process, meant to have only the semblance of justice.

9. **Auctoribus:** sc. *iis*, abl. abs. **suppositam . . . esse:** "had been foisted upon him."

petitor, quippe apud ipsum auctorem argumenti, peragit: puellam domi suae natam furtoque inde in domum
10 Vergini translatam suppositam ei esse; id se indicio compertum adferre probaturumque vel ipso Verginio iudice, ad quem maior pars iniuriae eius pertineat; interim
11 dominum sequi ancillam aequum esse. Advocati puellae, cum Verginium rei publicae causa dixissent abesse, biduo
12 adfuturum, si nuntiatum ei sit, iniquum esse absentem de liberis dimicare, postulant, ut rem integram in patris adventum differat, lege ab ipso lata vindicias det secundum libertatem, neu patiatur virginem adultam famae prius quam libertatis periculum adire.

1 XLV. Appius decreto praefatur: quam libertati faverit, eam ipsam legem declarare, quam Vergini amici postula-
2 tioni suae praetendant; ceterum ita in ea firmum libertati fore praesidium, si nec causis nec personis variet; in iis enim, qui adserantur in libertatem, quia quivis lege agere possit, id iuris esse; in ea, quae in patris manu sit, neminem esse alium, cui dominus possessione cedat;
3 placere itaque patrem arcessiri, interea iuris sui iacturam adsertorem non facere, quin ducat puellam sistendamque in adventum eius, qui pater dicatur, promittat.

4 Adversus iniuriam decreti cum multi magis fremerent, quam quisquam unus recusare auderet, P. Numitorius,

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10. dominum: emphatic position, assuming too, as does *ancillam*, the point in issue.

11. Advocati: the *noti* and *auctores* above (7; 9).

XLV. **1. praefatur:** "states by way of preface." His decision begins with *placere* (3). **quam . . . faverit:** indir. quest. after *declarare*. **praetendant:** "cite in support of."

2. variet: sc. *lex* from *in ea*. **id iuris esse:** i.e. the presumption of freedom before the decision. Appius makes the case turn upon whether the subject has attained legal independence. For persons thus *in sua potestate* any one could plead (*quivis lege agere possit*). A maiden was not *in sua potestute*, but *in patria potestate.* If, therefore, she were claimed by an alleged *dominus* in her father's absence, no one could legally dispute the claimant's possession of her until her father did it on his return. The purpose of this sophistry and its danger as a precedent are equally obvious.

3. arcessiri: archaic for *arcessi*. **sistendam:** rather awkward for *sisturum esse*, which is a rare form.

puellae avus, et sponsus Icilius interveniunt; dataque
5 inter turbam via, cum multitudo Icili maxime interventu resisti posse Appio crederet, lictor decresse ait,
6 vociferantemque Icilium submovet. Placidum quoque ingenium tam atrox iniuria accendisset. 'Ferro hinc tibi submovendus sum, Appi', inquit, 'ut tacitum feras, quod celari vis. Virginem ego hanc sum ducturus nuptamque
7 pudicam habiturus. Proinde omnes collegarum quoque lictores convoca; expediri virgas et secures iube; non
8 manebit extra domum patris sponsa Icili. Non, si tribunicium auxilium et provocationem plebi Romanae, duas arces libertatis tuendae, ademistis, ideo in liberos quoque nostros coniugesque regnum vestrae libidini
9 datum est. Saevite in tergum et in cervices nostras; pudicitia saltem in tuto sit! Huic si vis adferetur, ego praesentium Quiritium pro sponsa, Verginius militum pro unica filia, omnes deorum hominumque implorabimus fidem, neque tu istud umquam decretum sine
10 caede nostra referes. Postulo, Appi, etiam atque etiam
11 consideres, quo progrediare. Verginius viderit de filia, ubi venerit, quid agat; hoc tantum sciat, sibi, si huius vindiciis cesserit, condicionem filiae quaerendam esse. Me vindicantem sponsam in libertatem vita citius deseret quam fides.'

1 XLVI. Concitata multitudo erat, certamenque instare videbatur. Lictores Icilium circumsteterant; nec ultra
2 minas tamen processum est, cum Appius non Verginiam

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5. resisti . . . Appio: "Appius could be checked." **decresse:** the lictor's terse statement, *decrevit*, or *Appium iam decrevisse*, was meant to be final.

6. Placidum quoque: to say nothing of Icilius, who was *vir acer* (44. 3). **tacitum feras:** sc. *id;* a colloquialism, "get off without its being commented upon."

9. referes: "repeat, insist upon."

11. viderit: pf. subj. in excited exhortation (see on 1. 23. 8); prohibition with this tense is more common. **de filia,** etc.: the prolepsis shows his haste. Verginius will act from a father's point of view, Icilius from a lover's. **condicionem:** "match."

XLVI. **2. tribunatum . . . spirantem:** to the aristocrats the tribunes were "anarchists."

defendi ab Icilio, sed inquietum hominem et tribunatum etiam nunc spirantem locum seditionis quaerere diceret.
3 Non praebiturum se illi eo die materiam; sed ut iam sciret non id petulantiae suae, sed Verginio absenti et patrio nomini et libertati datum, ius eo die se non dicturum, neque decretum interpositurum; a M. Claudio petiturum, ut decederet iure suo vindicarique puellam in posterum
4 diem pateretur; quod nisi pater postero die adfuisset, denuntiare se Icilio similibusque Icili, neque legi suae latorem neque decemviro constantiam defore. Nec se utique collegarum lictores convocaturum ad coercendos seditionis auctores; contentum se suis lictoribus fore.

5 Cum dilatum tempus iniuriae esset secessissentque advocati puellae, placuit omnium primum fratrem Icili filiumque Numitori, impigros iuvenes, pergere inde recta ad portam, et, quantum accelerari posset, Verginium
6 acciri e castris: in eo verti puellae salutem, si postero die vindex iniuriae ad tempus praesto esset. Iussi pergunt citatisque equis nuntium ad patrem perferunt.
7 Cum instaret adsertor puellae, ut vindicaret sponsoresque daret, atque id ipsum agi diceret Icilius sedulo tempus terens, dum praeciperent iter nuntii missi in castra, manus tollere undique multitudo et se quisque
8 paratum ad spondendum Icilio ostendere. Atque ille lacrimabundus 'gratum est' inquit; 'crastina die vestra opera utar, sponsorum nunc satis est.' Ita vindicatur Verginia spondentibus propinquis.

9 Appius paulisper moratus, ne eius rei causa sedisse

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3. id . . . datum: "this concession was made." **ius . . . dicturum**: more narrowly defined by *decretum interpositurum*, "issue an interim decree." The action of 45. 3 is, therefore, withdrawn. **vindicari**: sc. *in libertatem*.

5. recta: sc. *via*. **e castris**: on Algidus (44. 2), some fifteen miles S. E. of Rome.

7. instaret: sc. *Icilio*. **sponsoresque daret**: "give bondsmen" for her reappearance. **tempus terens**: "spinning out the time," because, as *praeciperent* too implies, Appius will send messengers to the camp as soon as he can quit the court. Cf. 9.

9. sedisse: sc. *in tribunali*.

videretur, postquam omissis rebus aliis prae cura unius
nemo adibat, domum se recepit, collegisque in castra
scribit, ne Verginio commeatum dent, atque etiam in
custodia habeant. Improbum consilium serum, ut debuit,
fuit, et iam commeatu sumpto profectus Verginius prima
vigilia erat, cum postero die mane de retinendo eo nequi-
quam litterae redduntur.

1 XLVII. At in urbe prima luce cum civitas in foro
expectatione erecta staret, Verginius sordidatus filiam
secum obsolet aveste, comitantibus aliquot matronis, cum
2 ingentiad vocatione in forum deducit. Circumire ibi et
prensare homines coepit, et non orare solum precariam
opem, sed pro debita petere: se pro liberis eorum ac
coniugibus cottidie in acie stare, nec alium virum esse,
cuius strenue ac fortiter facta in bello plura memorari
possent; quid prodesse, si incolumi urbe, quae capta
3 ultima timeantur, liberis suis sint patienda? Haec prope
contionabundus circumibat homines. Similia his ab
4 Icilio iactabantur. Comitatus muliebris plus tacito fletu
quam ulla vox movebat. Adversus quae omnia obstinato
animo Appius — tanta vis amentiae verius quam amoris
mentem turbaverat — in tribunal escendit, et ultro
querente pauca petitore, quod ius sibi pridie per ambi-
tionem dictum non esset, priusquam aut ille postula-
tum perageret aut Verginio respondendi daretur locus,

---

10. **redduntur**: "is delivered," i.e. given up to the one addressed.

XLVII. 1. **sordidatus**, etc.: see on 1. 10. 1. **matronis**: perhaps brought to prove the circumstances of Verginia's birth. **advocatione**: = *multitudine advocatorum*.

2. **precariam**: as something granted in answer to his *preces;* in opposition to *pro debita* (sc. *ope*). **facta**: substantive, but the verbal idea is present strongly enough to justify the adverbs; literally, "deeds done." **prodesse**: (sc. *iis*): the rhetorical question is expressed by the infin. in indir. disc. **si**, etc.: = *si incolumi urbe ea ultima liberis suis sint patienda, quae capta urbe timeantur*.

4. **plus . . . movebat**: "produced more effect." **verius quam**: frequent in Livy for *magis quam*. Cf. 9. 17. 16. **ultro**: see on 1. 5. 3. **ius sibi . . . dictum**: "a verdict in his favor." Cf. 45. 3 and 46. 3.

5 Appius interfatur. Quem decreto sermonem praetenderit, forsan aliquem verum auctores antiqui tradiderint; quia nusquam ullum in tanta foeditate decreti veri similem invenio, id, quod constat, nudum videtur proponendum, decresse vindicias secundum servitutem.
6 Primo stupor omnes admiratione rei tam atrocis defixit; silentium inde aliquamdiu tenuit. Dein, cum M. Claudius circumstantibus matronis iret ad prendendam virginem lamentabilisque eum mulierum comploratio ex-
7 cepisset, Verginius intentans in Appium manus 'Icilio' inquit, 'Appi, non tibi filiam despondi et ad nuptias, non ad stuprum educavi. Passurine haec isti sint, nescio; non spero esse passuros illos, qui arma habent.'
8 Cum repelleretur adsertor virginis a globo mulierum circumstantiumque advocatorum, silentium factum per praeconem.

1 XLVIII. Decemvir, alienatus ad libidinem animo, negat ex hesterno tantum convicio Icili violentiaque Vergini, cuius testem populum Romanum habeat, sed certis quoque indiciis compertum se habere nocte tota coetus in urbe factos esse ad movendam seditionem.
2 Itaque se haud inscium eius dimicationis cum armatis descendisse, non ut quemquam quietum violaret, sed ut turbantes civitatis otium pro maiestate imperii coerceret.
3 'Proinde quiesse erit melius; i' inquit, 'lictor, submove turbam et da viam domino ad prendendum mancipium'!

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5. in tanta foeditate decreti: "in so shameful a decree;" a sort of half way stage in forming hendiadys. **nudum:** Livy gives the bare decree without a preface to justify it since he finds none that is plausible (*veri similem*).

7. isti: those looking on.

XLVIII. **1. alienatus animo:** "beside himself." **ad:** causal. **negat . . . tantum:** = *dicit non . . . tantum*. **compertum . . . habere:** analytical perfect for *comperit;* the original of the Romance and English perfects.

2. descendisse: sc. *in forum*. Cf. "down town," especially when the residential districts are on hills as at Rome.

3. deserta: note the position of the predicate and of the appositional phrase.

Cum haec intonuisset plenus irae, multitudo ipsa se sua
sponte dimovit, desertaque praeda iniuriae puella stabat.
4 Tum Verginius, ubi nihil usquam auxilii vidit, 'quaeso'
inquit, 'Appi, primum ignosce patrio dolori, si quo
inclementius in te sum invectus; deinde sinas hic coram
virgine nutricem percontari, quid hoc rei sit, ut, si falso
5 pater dictus sum, aequiore hinc animo discedam.' Data
venia seducit filiam ac nutricem prope Cloacinae ad
tabernas, quibus nunc novis est nomen, atque ibi ab
lanio cultro arrepto 'hoc te uno quo possum' ait 'modo,
filia, in libertatem vindico.' Pectus deinde puellae trans-
figit, respectansque ad tribunal 'te' inquit, 'Appi, tuum-
que caput sanguine hoc consecro.'

6 Clamore ad tam atrox facinus orto excitus Appius
comprendi Verginium iubet. Ille ferro quacumque ibat
viam facere, donec multitudine etiam prosequentium
7 tuente ad portam perrexit. Icilius Numitoriusque
exsangue corpus sublatum ostentant populo; scelus
Appi, puellae infelicem formam, necessitatem patris
deplorant.

1 XLIX. Concitatur multitudo partim atrocitate sceleris,
2 partim spe per occasionem repetendae libertatis. Appius
nunc vocari Icilium, nunc retractantem arripi, pos-
tremo, cum locus adeundi apparitoribus non daretur,
ipse cum agmine patriciorum iuvenum per turbam
3 vadens in vincula duci iubet. Iam circa Icilium non
solum multitudo, sed duces quoque multitudinis erant,

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4. **quo:** the indefinite as abl. of measure of difference; "in any way too severely."

5. **prope Cloacinae:** see on 1. 41. 4. This epithet of Venus, the "purifying one," is from an archaic *cluere* = *purgare*. **novis:** in contrast with the *veteres tabernae* on the south side of the Forum. **ab lanio:** i.e. from a butcher's shop.

7. **infelicem:** her beauty was unhappily her undoing.

XLIX. 1. **sceleris:** the act of Appius (cf. 48. 7.). **repetendae libertatis:** by abolishing the arbitrary decemvirs.

3. **privato:** i.e. from Appius. See on 38. 1. **hinc,** etc.: observe the effect in the succession of short clauses. See Introd. V.

L. Valerius et M. Horatius, qui repulso lictore, si iure ageret, vindicare se a privato Icilium aiebant; si vim adferre conaretur, ibi quoque haud impares fore. Hinc
4 atrox rixa oritur. Valerium Horatiumque lictor decemviri invadit; franguntur a multitudine fasces. In contionem Appius escendit; sequuntur Horatius Valerius-
5 que. Eos contio audit; decemviro obstrepitur. Iam pro imperio Valerius discedere a privato lictores iubebat, cum fractis animis Appius vitae metuens in domum se propinquam foro, insciis adversariis, capite obvoluto recipit.

6 Sp. Oppius, ut auxilio collegae esset, in forum ex altera parte inrumpit. Videt imperium vi victum. Agitatus deinde consiliis, atque ex omni parte adsentiendo multis auctoribus trepidaverat; senatum postremo
7 vocari iussit. Ea res, quod magnae parti patrum displicere acta decemvirorum videbantur, spe per Senatum
8 finiendae potestatis eius multitudinem sedavit. Senatus nec plebem inritandam censuit et multo magis providendum, ne quid Verginii adventus in exercitu motus faceret.

11 LI. Patres solliciti de summa rerum, cum senatus cottidie esset, iurgiis saepius terunt tempus quam con-

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4. In contionem: here an elevated place from which an assembly might be addressed. **sequuntur:** "follow suit," taking another part of the Forum.

5. pro imperio: as if he were vested with the *imperium.* **cum . . . recipit:** an inverted *cum* clause, hence the indicative. **in domum:** not his own house. Cf. 48. 2.

6. Agitatus, etc.: "distracted then by the counsels offered, and listening to the many suggestions from all quarters."

8. ne . . . faceret: despite this precaution of the senate a great commotion was aroused in the army at Mt. Algidus when Verginius arrived with the story of his wrongs. The troops in rebellious spirit marched to Rome and took their position on the Aventine, determined to recover liberty and secure the election of tribunes for the Commons. In this move they were presently joined by the other division of the army (42. 3), which had been stirred to action by Icilius and Numitorius.

LI. **11. Sicci caedes:** cf. 43.

12 siliis. Sicci caedes decemviris et Appiana libido et
dedecora militiae obiciebantur. Placebat Valerium Hora-
tiumque ire in Aventinum. Illi negabant se aliter ituros,
quam si decemviri deponerent insignia magistratus eius,
13 quo anno iam ante abissent. Decemviri, querentes se
in ordinem cogi, non ante quam perlatis legibus, quarum
causa creati essent, deposituros imperium se aiebant.

1 LII. Per M. Duillium, qui tribunus plebis fuerat,
certior facta plebs contentionibus adsiduis nihil transigi,
2 in Sacrum montem ex Aventino transit, adfirmante Duillio
non prius, quam deseri urbem videant, curam in animos
patrum descensuram; admoniturum Sacrum montem
constantiae plebis, sciturosque sine restituta potestate
3 tribunicia redigi in concordiam resne queant. Via
Nomentana, cui tum Ficulensi nomen fuit, profecti
castra in monte Sacro locavere, modestiam patrum
suorum nihil violando imitati. Secuta exercitum plebs,
4 nullo, qui per aetatem ire posset, retractante. Prose-
quuntur coniuges liberique, cuinam se relinquerent in
ea urbe, in qua nec pudicitia nec libertas sancta esset,
miserabiliter rogitantes.

1 LIII. Tum Valerius Horatiusque missi ad plebem con-
dicionibus, quibus videretur, revocandam componendas-
que res, decemviris quoque ab ira et impetu multitu-
2 dinis praecavere iubentur. Profecti gaudio ingenti plebis

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12. **militiae:** genitive. **quo . . . abissent:** "from which they should have passed certainly the year before." Cf. 38. 1. The subjunctive is one of unfulfilled propriety.

LII. 1-4. LIII-LIV. 6. SECESSION OF THE PLEBS; THE DECEMVIRS RETIRE FROM OFFICE.

LII. 2. **admoniturum:** sc. *patres*, which suggests the subject of *scituros*. **resne queant:** the indirect question after *scire* is rare, but cf. 6. 25. 8.

3. **in monte Sacro:** usually *Sacer mons* in Livy, a conventional order such as *Sacra via*. **modestiam patrum:** the self-restraint of the first secession. Cf. 2. 32. 4. **plebs:** those outside of the army.

LIII. 1. **Valerius Horatiusque:** after some debate in the city, the decemvirs agreed to retire from office and these champions of the *plebs* (49, 3 and 4) were sent to recall the seceders.

in castra accipiuntur, quippe liberatores haud dubie et motus initio et exitu rei. Ob haec iis advenientibus
3 gratiae actae. Icilius pro multitudine verba facit. Idem, cum de condicionibus ageretur, quaerentibus legatis, quae postulata plebis essent, composito iam ante adventum legatorum consilio ea postulavit, ut appareret in aequitate rerum plus quam in armis reponi
4 spei. Potestatem enim tribuniciam provocationemque repetebant, quae ante decemviros creatos auxilia plebis fuerant, et ne cui fraudi esset concisse milites aut plebem
5 ad repetendam per secessionem libertatem. De decemvirorum modo supplicio atrox postulatum fuit: dedi quippe eos aequum censebant, vivosque igni concrematuros minabantur.

6 Legati ad ea: 'quae consilii fuerunt, adeo aequa postulastis, ut ultro vobis deferenda fuerint; libertati enim ea praesidia petitis, non licentiae ad impugnandos
7 alios. Irae vestrae magis ignoscendum quam indulgendum est, quippe qui crudelitatis odio in crudelitatem ruitis et prius paene, quam ipsi liberi sitis, dominari
8 iam in adversarios vultis. Numquamne quiescet civitas nostra a suppliciis aut patrum in plebem Romanam
9 aut plebis in patres? Scuto vobis magis quam gladio opus est. Satis superque humilis est, qui iure aequo in civitate vivit, nec inferendo iniuriam nec patiendo.
10 Etiam si quando metuendos vos praebituri estis, cum reciperatis magistratibus legibusque vestris iudicia penes vos erunt de capite nostro fortunisque, tunc ut quaeque causa erit statuetis; nunc libertatem repeti satis est.'

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4. fraudi esset: "work injury," the old legal sense of *fraus*. Cf. 1. 47. 9.

6. consilii: pred. poss. gen. The contrast is with *Irae* (7).

9. scuto . . . gladio: referring metaphorically to the last statement in 6. **humilis:** the condition of a decemvir out of office is suggested.

10. metuendos: i.e. by taking up the question of punishment. **statuetis:** used as a familiar imperative.

1 LIV. Facerent ut vellent permittentibus cunctis,
mox redituros se legati rebus perfectis adfirmant.
2 Profecti cum mandata plebis patribus exposuissent, alii
decemviri, quando quidem praeter spem ipsorum sup-
plicii sui nulla mentio fieret, haud quicquam abnuere;
3 Appius, truci ingenio et invidia praecipua, odium in
se aliorum suo in eos metiens odio 'haud ignaro' inquit
4 'imminet fortuna. Video, donec arma adversariis tra-
dantur, differri adversus nos certamen. Dandus invi-
diae est sanguis. Nihil ne ego quidem moror, quo minus
5 decemviratu abeam.' Factum senatus consultum, ut
decemviri se primo quoque tempore magistratu abdi-
carent, Q. Furius pontifex maximus tribunos plebis
crearet, et ne cui fraudi esset secessio militum plebisque.
6 His senatus consultis perfectis dimisso senatu decem-
viri prodeunt in contionem, abdicantque se magistratu
ingenti hominum laetitia.

LIV. 1. **Facerent**: the usual *ut* after *permittere* has been more readily omitted because of *ut vellent*.

2. **alii**: = *ceteri*, anticipating *Appius*. **spem**: "expectation." The word often has less color than in the ordinary translation "hope."

3. **truci ingenio et invidia praecipua**: "a man of harsh nature and an especial object of hatred." **ignaro**: sc. *mihi*.

4. **donec**: "only until."

5. **primo quoque tempore**: = *quam primum*, as often in Livy.

TITI LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER V.

6 XXXII. Eodem anno M. Caedicius de plebe nuntiavit tribunis se in Nova via, ubi nunc sacellum est supra aedem Vestae, vocem noctis silentio audisse clariorem humana, quae magistratibus dici iuberet Gallos
7 adventare. Id, ut fit, propter auctoris humilitatem spretum et quod longinqua eoque ignotior gens erat. Neque deorum modo monita ingruente fato spreta, sed humanam quoque opem, quae una erat, M. Furium ab urbe amovere.

1 XXXIII. Expulso cive, quo manente, si quicquam humanorum certi est, capi Roma non potuerat, adventante fatali urbi clade legati ab Clusinis veniunt aux-
2 ilium adversus Gallos petentes. Eam gentem traditur fama dulcedine frugum maximeque vini, nova tum

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XXXII. 6. 7. XXXIII. 1-4. XXXV. 4-XLIX. THE GAULS INVADE ITALY AND CAPTURE ROME.

Tradition represents this first Gallic incursion as early as 390 B. C.; all but the citadel at Rome was captured and the records destroyed. The expediency party of the day even urged abandoning the site and removing to Veii, but Camillus in an impassioned speech saved the day.

6. Eodem anno: 386 B.C. according to Livy's chronology. **de plebe:** sc. *homo*. Cf. 1. 9. 11. **sacellum:** erected later to expiate their neglect of the Voice.

7. M. Furium: sc. *Camillum*. He had been signally honored politically, and Livy calls him *dux maximus imperatorum omnium* in his day. (23. 1.)

XXXIII. **1. quo manente:** = *qui, si tum maneret*. **quicquam . . . certi:** *certum* would be better. **fatali:** "predestined." **Clusinis:** Clusium in east central Etruria had been besieged by the Gauls on their way southward.

2. possedisse: from *possido*.

voluptate, captam Alpes transisse agrosque ab Etruscis
3 ante cultos possedisse; et invexisse in Galliam vinum
inliciendae gentis causa Arruntem Clusinum ira cor-
ruptae uxoris ab Lucumone, cui tutor ipse fuerat, prae-
potente iuvene et a quo expeti poenae, nisi externa
4 vis quaesita esset, nequirent; hunc transeuntibus Alpes
ducem auctoremque Clusium oppugnandi fuisse.

4 XXXV. Clusini novo bello exterriti, cum multitu-
dinem, cum formas hominum invisitatas cernerent et
genus armorum, audirentque saepe ab iis cis Padum
ultraque legiones Etruscorum fusas, quamquam adversus
Romanos nullum eis ius societatis amicitiaeve erat, nisi
quod Veientes consanguineos adversus populum Roma-
num non defendissent, legatos Romam, qui auxilium
5 ab senatu peterent, misere. De auxilio nihil impetra-
tum; legati tres M. Fabi Ambusti filii missi, qui senatus
populique Romani nomine agerent cum Gallis, ne, a
quibus nullam iniuriam accepissent, socios populi Romani
6 atque amicos oppugnarent: Romanis eos bello quoque,
si res cogat, tuendos esse; sed melius visum bellum ipsum
amoveri, si posset, et Gallos, novam gentem, pace potius
cognosci quam armis.

1 XXXVI. Mitis legatio, ni praeferoces legatos Gallis-
que magis quam Romanis similes habuisset. Quibus,
postquam mandata ediderunt in concilio Gallorum,
2 datur responsum: etsi novum nomen audiant Romano-
rum, tamen credere viros fortes esse, quorum auxilium
3 a Clusinis in re trepida sit imploratum; et quoniam
legatione adversus se maluerint quam armis tueri socios,

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3. ira . . . uxoris: see on 1. 5. 3. **cui . . . fuerat:** see on *quo*, 2. 32. 11.

XXXV. **4. adversus Romanos:** = *cum Romanis*.

5. legati . . . missi: with adversative force. **socios,** etc.: but see *nullum ius* (4). The Romans, however, may have made a hurried alliance.

6. cogat . . . posset: changed point of view. Cf. *negetur* . . . *possent* (36. 4).

XXXVI. **1. mitis . . . ni:** see on 1. 48. 9.

3. aliter: a diplomatic *si minus*.

ne se quidem pacem, quam illi adferant, aspernari, si
Gallis egentibus agro, quem latius possideant quam
colant Clusini, partem finium concedant; aliter pacem
4 impetrari non posse. Et responsum coram Romanis
accipere velle, et, si negetur ager, coram iisdem Romanis
dimicaturos, ut nuntiare domum possent, quantum
Galli virtute ceteros mortales praestarent.

5 Quodnam id ius esset, agrum a possessoribus petere
aut minari arma, Romanis quaerentibus, et quid in
Etruria rei Gallis esset, cum illi se in armis ius ferre
et omnia fortium virorum esse ferociter dicerent, accensis
utrimque animis ad arma discurritur et proelium con-
6 seritur. Ibi, iam urgentibus Romanam urbem fatis,
legati contra ius gentium arma capiunt. Nec id clam
esse potuit, cum ante signa Etruscorum tres nobilissimi
fortissimique Romanae iuventutis pugnarent; tantum
7 eminebat peregrina virtus. Quin etiam Q. Fabius evec-
tus extra aciem equo ducem Gallorum, ferociter in ipsa
signa Etruscorum incursantem, per latus transfixum
hasta occidit; spoliaque eius legentem Galli agnovere,
perque totam aciem Romanum legatum esse signum
datum est.

8 Omissa inde in Clusinos ira, receptui canunt minantes
Romanis. Erant, qui extemplo Romam eundum cen-
serent; vicere seniores, ut legati prius mitterentur ques-
tum iniurias postulatumque, ut pro iure gentium violato
9 Fabii dederentur. Legati Gallorum cum ea, sicut erant
mandata, exposuissent, senatui nec factum placebat
Fabiorum, et ius postulare barbari videbantur; sed ne
id, quod placebat, decerneret in tantae nobilitatis viris,

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6. ius gentium: made up of principles common to all *gentes*, it especially provided that *legati* were inviolable and neutral.

8. vicere seniores: "the older heads prevailed (with the advice)."

9. ambitio obstabat: "policy prevented." The Fabii were prominent people.

10 ambitio obstabat. Itaque ne penes ipsos culpa esset,
si clades forent Gallico bello acceptae, cognitionem de
postulatis Gallorum ad populum reiciunt; ubi tanto
plus gratia atque opes valuere, ut, quorum de poena
agebatur, tribuni militum consulari potestate in inse-
11 quentem annum crearentur. Quo facto haud secus,
quam dignum erat, infensi Galli bellum propalam
minantes ad suos redeunt. Tribuni militum cum tribus
12 Fabiis creati Q. Sulpicius Longus, Q. Servilius quar-
tum, P. Cornelius Maluginensis.

1 XXXVII. Cum tanta moles mali instaret — adeo
obcaecat animos fortuna, ubi vim suam ingruentem
refringi non vult —, civitas, quae adversus Fidenatem
ac Veientem hostem aliosque finitimos populos ultima
experiens auxilia dictatorem multis tempestatibus dixis-
2 set, ea tunc, invisitato atque inaudito hoste ab Oceano
terrarumque ultimis oris bellum ciente, nihil extra-
3 ordinarii imperii aut auxilii quaesivit. Tribuni, quo-
rum temeritate bellum contractum erat, summae rerum
praeerant, dilectumque nihilo accuratiorem, quam ad
media bella haberi solitus erat, extenuantes etiam famam
belli, habebant.

4 Interim Galli, postquam accepere ultro honorem
habitum violatoribus iuris humani elusamque lega-
tionem suam esse, flagrantes ira, cuius impotens est
gens, confestim signis convulsis citato agmine iter ingre-
5 diuntur. Ad quorum praetereuntium raptim tumul-
tum cum exterritae urbes ad arma concurrerent fugaque
agrestium fieret, Romam se ire magno clamore signi-

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10. quorum: = *ii, quorum*.

XXXVII. **1. tanta moles mali:** "danger of such magnitude." **ultima . . . auxilia:** "using the last extreme of help."

2. nihil, etc.: Livy exaggerates in his fatalistic account. Polybius 2. 18. 2. mentions allies.

3. media: "ordinary."

4. ultro: see on 1. 5. 3. **impotens:** "without control."

5. ad . . . tumultum: causal. The *tum. Gallicus* became proverbial. **immensum:** see Introd. V. 2. *a*.

ficabant, quacumque ibant, equis virisque longe ac
6 late fuso agmine immensum obtinentes loci. Sed ante-
cedente fama nuntiisque Clusinorum, deinceps inde
aliorum populorum, plurimum terroris Romam cele-
7 ritas hostium tulit, quippe quibus, velut tumultuario
exercitu raptim ducto, aegre ad undecimum lapidem
occursum est, qua flumen Alia, Crustuminis montibus
praealto defluens alveo, haud multum infra viam Tibe-
8 rino amni miscetur. Iam omnia contra circaque hostium
plena erant, et nata in vanos tumultus gens truci cantu
clamoribusque variis horrendo cuncta compleverant sono.

1 XXXVIII. Ibi tribuni militum, non loco castris
ante capto, non praemunito vallo, quo receptus esset,
non deorum saltem, si non hominum, memores, nec
auspicato nec litato instruunt aciem diductam in cornua,
2 ne circumveniri multitudine hostium possent; nec tamen
aequari frontes poterant, cum extenuando infirmam et
vix cohaerentem mediam aciem haberent. Paulum erat
ab dextera editi loci, quem subsidiariis repleri placuit;
eaque res ut initium pavoris ac fugae, sic una salus
3 fugientibus fuit. Nam Brennus, regulus Gallorum, in
paucitate hostium artem maxime timens, ratus ad id
captum superiorem locum, ut, ubi Galli cum acie legio-
num recta fronte concurrissent, subsidia in aversos
transversosque impetum darent, ad subsidiarios signa
4 convertit, si eos loco depulisset, haud dubius facilem
in aequo campi tantum superanti multitudine victoriam

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7. lapidem: "milestone." **occursum est:** impersonal. After *quippe qui* causal as here the subjunctive is more common.

8. truci, etc.: cf. Caes. B. G. 5. 37. 3 *more suo ululatum tollunt.*

XXXVIII. **1. non . . . saltem:** = *ne . . . quidem.* Before the *si* clause it is especially emphatic. **litato:** here merely of offering sacrifice without implying its acceptance.

3. Brennus: a Latinized form of the Celtic *bran,* "prince." See on 2. 9. 1. **in paucitate . . . timens:** i.e. so few were in sight that he feared some strategem.

4. si . . . depulisset: render after *haud dubius.* **superanti:** sc. *sibi.*

fore; adeo non fortuna modo, sed ratio etiam cum bar-
5 baris stabat. In altera acie nihil simile Romanis, non
apud duces, non apud milites erat. Pavor fugaque
occupaverat animos, et tanta omnium oblivio, ut multo
maior pars Veios, in hostium urbem, cum Tiberis arceret,
quam recto itinere Romam ad coniuges ac liberos fuge-
6 rent. Parumper subsidiarios tutatus est locus; in reliqua
acie simul est clamor proximis ab latere, ultimis ab
tergo auditus, ignotum hostem prius paene quam vide-
rent, non modo non temptato certamine, sed ne clamore
7 quidem reddito integri intactique fugerunt. Nec ulla
caedes pugnantium fuit; terga caesa suomet ipsorum
8 certamine in turba impedientium fugam. Circa ripam
Tiberis, quo armis abiectis totum sinistrum cornu defugit,
magna strages facta est, multosque imperitos nandi aut
invalidos, graves loricis aliisque tegminibus, hausere
9 gurgites. Maxima tamen pars incolumis Veios per-
fugit, unde non modo praesidii quicquam, sed ne nuntius
10 quidem cladis Romam est missus. Ab dextro cornu,
quod procul a flumine et magis sub monte steterat,
Romam omnes petiere, et ne clausis quidem portis urbis
in arcem confugerunt.

1 XXXIX. Gallos quoque velut obstupefactos mira-
culum victoriae tam repentinae tenuit, et ipsi pavore
defixi primum steterunt velut ignari, quid accidisset;
deinde insidias vereri; postremo caesorum spolia legere
2 armorumque cumulos, ut mos eis est, coacervare; tum
demum, postquam nihil usquam hostile cernebatur,
viam ingressi haud multo ante solis occasum ad urbem
Romam perveniunt. Ubi cum praegressi equites non
portas clausas, non stationem pro portis excubare, non

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5. **altera**: the Roman.

6. **proximis**: so-called dat. of agent.

7. **suomet . . . certamine**: "by the struggle within their own ranks." *ipsorum* is in appos. with the gen. idea in *suomet*.

XXXIX. 1. **Gallos**: the position marks the change in narrative. Cf. *Romani* (4). **victoriae**: appos. gen. **vereri**: hist. infin.

armatos esse in muris rettulissent, aliud priori simile
3 miraculum · eos sustinuit; noctemque veriti et ignotae
situm urbis inter Romam atque Anienem consedere,
exploratoribus missis circa moenia aliasque portas,
quaenam hostibus in perdita re consilia essent.

4 Romani, cum pars maior ex acie Veios petisset quam
Romam, nemo superesse quemquam praeter eos, qui
Romam refugerant, crederet, complorati omnes pariter
vivi mortuique totam prope urbem lamentis impleverunt.
5 Privatos deinde luctus stupefecit publicus pavor, post-
quam hostes adesse nuntiatum est; mox ululatus can-
tusque dissonos, vagantibus circa moenia turmatim
6 barbaris, audiebant. Omne inde tempus suspensos ita
tenuit animos usque ad lucem alteram, ut identidem
iam in urbem futurus videretur impetus; primo adven-
tus, quia accesserant ad urbem — mansuros enim ad
7 Aliam fuisse, nisi hoc consilii foret —; deinde sub occasum
solis, quia haud multum diei supererat, ante noctem
rati invasuros; tum in noctem dilatum consilium esse,
quo plus pavoris inferrent; postremo lux adpropinquans
8 exanimare; timorique perpetuo ipsum malum continens
fuit, cum signa infesta portis sunt inlata. Nequaquam
tamen ea nocte neque insequenti die similis illi, quae
9 ad Aliam tam pavide fugerat, civitas fuit. Nam cum
defendi urbem posse tam parva relicta manu spes nulla

---

3. **ignotae:** = *ignotum*, by hypallage. **aliasque portas:** "and likewise the various gates." See on 1. 20. 3. **quaenam . . . consilia essent:** indir. question after the idea in *exploratoribus*.

5. **publicus:** objective.

6. **iam . . . futurus:** "just on the point of being made." **adventus,** etc.: the fact of their coming on to the city in haste pointed to an immediate attack, likewise the late hour of the day.

7. **rati,** etc.: = *cum rerentur impetum futurum* (= *invasuros*) *esse ante noctem*. The reference in *rati* is obvious, and its introduction determines the form of the *tum* clause. **exanimare:** cf. *vereri*. (1).

8. **timorique . . . fuit:** "the blow itself followed hard upon their continued fear of it."

9. **in arcem Capitoliumque:** the northern and southern points respectively of the Capitoline.

esset, placuit cum coniugibus ac liberis iuventutem
militarem senatusque robur in arcem Capitoliumque
10 concedere, armisque et frumento conlato, ex loco inde
munito deos hominesque et Romanum nomen defen-
11 dere; flaminem sacerdotesque Vestales sacra publica a
caede, ab incendiis procul auferre nec ante deseri cul-
12 tum deorum, quam non superessent, qui colerent. Si
arx Capitoliumque, sedes deorum, si senatus, caput
publici consilii, si militaris iuventus superfuerit im-
minenti ruinae urbis, facilem iacturam esse seniorum
13 relictae in urbe utique peritura turbae. Et quo id aequiore
animo de plebe multitudo ferret, senes triumphales con-
sularesque simul se cum illis palam dicere obituros, nec
his corporibus, quibus non arma ferre, non tueri patriam
possent, oneraturos inopiam armatorum.

1 XL. Haec inter seniores morti destinatos iactata
solacia. Versae inde adhortationes ad agmen iuvenum,
quos in Capitolium atque in arcem prosequebantur,
commendantes virtuti eorum iuventaeque urbis per
trecentos sexaginta annos omnibus bellis victricis, quae-
2 cumque reliqua esset fortuna. Digredientibus, qui spem
omnem atque opem secum ferebant, ab iis, qui captae
3 urbis non superesse statuerant exitio, cum ipsa res
speciesque miserabilis erat, tum muliebris fletus et con-
cursatio incerta nunc hos nunc illos sequentium rogitan-
tiumque viros natosque, cui se fato darent, nihil, quod
4 humani superesset mali, relinquebant. Magna pars

---

10. inde: temporal.

11. flaminem: cf. 40. 7.

12. turbae: with *iacturam* and explained by *seniorum*. Cf. 41. 1.

13. quo: = *ut eo*. **id:** neut. of loose reference to the destruction.

XL. The vividness of the following narrative, its masterly treatment, should be compared with 1. 29.

1. iuventaeque: a pathetic word from the *seniores*.

2. captae . . . exitio: "the capture and destruction of the city."

3. muliebris: = *mulierum* with which *sequentium rogitantiumque* agree. **quod superesset:** "which could have remained." Past potential.

4. quod utile: viz., forbidding shelter to non-combatants.

tamen earum in arcem suos persecutae sunt, nec pro-
hibente ullo nec vocante, quia, quod utile obsessis ad
minuendam imbellem multitudinem, id parum humanum
5 erat. Alia maxime plebis turba, quam nec capere tam
exiguus collis nec alere in tanta inopia frumenti poterat,
ex urbe effusa velut agmine iam uno petiit Ianiculum.
6 Inde pars per agros dilapsi, pars urbes petunt finitimas,
sine ullo duce aut consensu, suam quisque spem, sua
consilia communibus deploratis sequentes.

7 Flamen interim Quirinalis virginesque Vestales,
omissa rerum suarum cura, quae sacrorum secum fer-
enda, quae, quia vires ad omnia ferenda deerant, relin-
quenda essent, consultantes, quisve ea locus fideli adserv-
8 aturus custodia esset, optimum ducunt condita in doliolis
sacello proximo aedibus flaminis Quirinalis, ubi nunc
despui religio est, defodere; cetera inter se onere partito
ferunt via, quae sublicio ponte ducit ad Ianiculum.
9 In eo clivo eas cum L. Albinius, de plebe homo, con-
spexisset, plaustro coniugem ac liberos avehens inter
ceteram turbam, quae inutilis bello urbe excedebat,
10 salvo etiam tum discrimine divinarum humanarumque
rerum, religiosum ratus sacerdotes publicas sacraque
populi Romani pedibus ire ferrique, se ac suos in vehiculo
conspici, descendere uxorem ac pueros iussit, virgines
sacraque in plaustrum imposuit et Caere, quo iter sacer-
dotibus erat, pervexit.

1 XLI. Romae interim satis iam omnibus, ut in tali
re, ad tuendam arcem compositis, turba seniorum domos
regressi adventum hostium obstinato ad mortem animo

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6. **suam quisque spem:** "their various hopes."

8. **despui religio:** "a sacrilege to spit." **sublicio ponte:** reverse of usual order without apparent reason. See on 1. 12. 6.

9. **clivo:** see on 1. 48. 6.

10. **religiosum:** emphatic; see on 8. **Caere:** an Etrurian town, whence *caeremoniae* is said to be derived because the Vestals were kindly received there.

XLI. 1. **ut:** restrictive. See on 1. 18. 1.

2 expectabant. Qui eorum curules gesserant magistratus, ut in fortunae pristinae honorumque ac virtutis insignibus morerentur, quae augustissima vestis est tensas ducentibus triumphantibusve, ea vestiti medio aedium
3 eburneis sellis sedere. Sunt, qui M. Folio pontifice maximo praefante carmen devovisse eos se pro patria Quiritibusque Romanis tradant.

4 Galli, et quia interposita nocte a contentione pugnae remiserant animos, et quod nec in acie ancipiti usquam certaverant proelio nec tum impetu aut vi capiebant urbem, sine ira, sine ardore animorum ingressi postero die urbem patente Collina porta in forum perveniunt, circumferentes oculos ad templa deum arcemque solam belli
5 speciem tenentem. Inde modico relicto praesidio, ne quis in dissipatos ex arce aut Capitolio impetus fieret, dilapsi ad praedam vacuis occursu hominum viis, pars in proxima quaeque tectorum agmine ruunt, pars ultima, velut ea
6 demum intacta et referta praeda, petunt. Inde rursus ipsa solitudine, absterriti, ne qua fraus hostilis vagos exciperet, in forum ac propinqua foro loca conglobati
7 redibant; ubi eos plebis aedificiis obseratis, patentibus atriis principum maior prope cunctatio tenebat aperta
8 quam clausa invadendi; adeo haud secus quam venerabundi intuebantur in aedium vestibulis sedentes viros praeter ornatum habitumque humano augustiorem maiestate etiam, quam vultus gravitasque oris prae se
9 ferebat, simillimos dis. Ad eos velut ad simulacra versi

2. curules . . . magistratus: i.e. entitling the incumbent to sit in the *sella curulis*. **medio aedium:** see on 1. 57. 9.

3. praefante: they were to follow, repeating his formula (*carmen*).

4. remiserant animos: "had abated their anger." **patente:** cf. 38. 10.

5. vacuis . . . viis: "through the streets without encountering the usual throngs."

6. conglobati redibant: "kept returning in squads."

8. in aedium vestibulis: loosely used (cf. 2), or the *seniores* may have variously seated themselves.

9. permulcenti: with *Gallo*, dat. of reference after *iram movisse*. **ortum** (*esse*): after *dicitur* now regarded as impersonal.

cum starent, M. Papirius, unus ex iis, dicitur Gallo
barbam suam, ut tum omnibus promissa erat, per-
mulcenti scipione eburneo in caput incusso iram movisse,
atque ab eo initium caedis ortum, ceteros in sedibus
suis trucidatos; post principum caedem nulli deinde
mortalium parci, diripi tecta, exhaustis inici ignes.
1 XLII. Ceterum, — seu non omnibus delendi urbem
libido erat, seu ita placuerat principibus Gallorum, et
ostentari quaedam incendia terroris causa, si compelli
ad deditionem caritate sedum suarum obsessi possent,
2 et non omnia concremari tecta, ut, quodcumque super-
esset urbis, id pignus ad flectendos hostium animos
haberent, — nequaquam perinde atque in capta urbe
3 prima die aut passim aut late vagatus est ignis. Romani
ex arce plenam hostium urbem cernentes vagosque per
vias omnes cursus, cum alia atque alia parte nova aliqua
clades oreretur, non mentibus solum concipere rem,
sed ne auribus quidem atque oculis satis constare poter-
4 ant. Quocumque clamor hostium, mulierum puero-
rumque ploratus, sonitus flammae et fragor ruentium
tectorum avertisset, paventes ad omnia animos oraque
et oculos flectebant, velut ad spectaculum a fortuna
positi occidentis patriae nec ullius rerum suarum relicti
5 praeterquam corporum vindices, tanto ante alios mis-
erandi magis, qui umquam obsessi sunt, quod inter-
clusi a patria obsidebantur, omnia sua cernentes in
6 hostium potestate. Nec tranquillior nox diem tam
foede actum excepit; lux deinde noctem inquietam
insecuta est, nec ullum erat tempus, quod a novae semper

XLII. 1. **si:** interrogative; "to see whether."

2. et: = *et tamen.* **perinde atque:** "exactly as."

3. vagosque . . . cursus: "their rambling invasion of all the streets." **mentibus . . . concipere:** "to realize." **satis constare:** "to have full possession of."

4. avertisset: iterative subjunctive. **velut,** etc.: as if placed by fortune to witness the ruin of their city, and thus left to protect none of their belongings save their bodies.

7 cladis alicuius spectaculo cessaret. Nihil tamen tot
onerati atque obruti malis flexerunt animos, quin, etsi
omnia flammis ac ruinis aequata vidissent, quamvis
inopem parvumque, quem tenebant, collem libertati
8 relictum virtute defenderent; et iam, cum eadem coti-
die acciderent, velut adsueti malis abalienaverant ab
sensu rerum suarum animos, arma tantum ferrumque
in dextris velut solas reliquias spei suae intuentes.

1 XLIII. Galli quoque, per aliquot dies in tecta modo
urbis nequiquam bello gesto, cum inter incendia ac
ruinas captae urbis nihil superesse praeter armatos
hostes viderent, nequaquam tot cladibus territos nec
flexuros ad deditionem animos ni vis adhiberetur,
experiri ultima et impetum facere in arcem statuunt.
2 Prima luce signo dato multitudo omnis in foro instruitur;
inde clamore sublato ac testudine facta subeunt. Adver-
sus quos Romani nihil temere nec trepide; ad omnis
aditus stationibus firmatis, qua signa ferri videbant,
ea robore virorum opposito scandere hostem sinunt,
quo successerit magis in arduum, eo pelli posse per
3 proclive facilius rati. Medio fere clivo restitere, atque
inde ex loco superiore, qui prope sua sponte in hostem
inferebat, impetu facto strage ac ruina fudere Gallos,
ut numquam postea nec pars nec universi temptaverint
4 tale pugnae genus. Omissa itaque spe per vim atque
arma subeundi, obsidionem parant, cuius ad id tempus
immemores et quod in urbe fuerat frumentum incendiis
urbis absumpserant, et ex agris per eos ipsos dies raptum
5 omne Veios erat. Igitur exercitu diviso partim per
finitimos populos praedari placuit, partim obsidere

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7. **etsi:** = *etiam si*. **libertati relictum:** i.e. as the only place where liberty might survive.

XLIII. 1. **experiri ultima:** "to resort to extreme measures."

2. **qua:** sc. *parte;* resumed by *ea*. **quo . . . facilius:** "the greater height they gained, the easier for them to be repulsed down the steep."

3. **temptaverint:** see on 1. 16. 1.

arcem, ut obsidentibus frumentum populatores agrorum praeberent.

6 Proficiscentes Gallos ab urbe ad Romanam experiendam virtutem fortuna ipsa Ardeam, ubi Camillus
7 exsulabat, duxit; qui maestior ibi fortuna publica quam sua cum dis hominibusque accusandis senesceret, indignando mirandoque, ubi illi viri essent, qui secum Veios Faleriosque cepissent, qui alia bella fortius semper quam
8 felicius gessissent, repente audit Gallorum exercitum adventare atque de eo pavidos Ardeates consultare. Nec secus quam divino spiritu tactus cum se in mediam contionem intulisset, abstinere suetus ante talibus con-
1 ciliis, XLIV. 'Ardeates,' inquit, 'veteres amici, novi etiam cives mei, quando et vestrum beneficium ita tulit et fortuna hoc eguit mea, nemo vestrum condicionis meae oblitum me huc processisse putet; sed res ac commune periculum cogit quod quisque possit in
2 re trepida praesidii in medium conferre. Et quando ego vobis pro tantis vestris in me meritis gratiam referam, si nunc cessavero? Aut ubi usus erit mei vobis, si in bello non fuerit? Hac arte in patria steti, et invictus
3 bello in pace ab ingratis civibus pulsus sum. Vobis autem, Ardeates, fortuna oblata est et pro tantis populi Romani beneficiis, quanta ipsi meministis — nec enim exprobranda apud memores sunt — gratiae referendae et huic urbi decus ingens belli ex hoste communi pari-
4 endi, qui effuso agmine adventat. Gens est, cui natura

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6. **ad . . . experiendam:** with *duxit.* **Camillus:** cf. 32. 7.

7. **cum . . . senesceret:** circumstantial. **felicius:** "by luck;" contemptuous.

8. **Nec . . . tactus:** "as if under divine inspiration." **suetus:** = *adsuetus;* concessive.

XLIV. 1. **quando:** explaining *cives mei.* The *Ardeates* had made him a *municeps,* but he had no voice in the assembly. **in medium conferre:** "to contribute."

2. **hac arte:** see on 1. 53. 1.

3. **fortuna:** = *occasio,* with *referendae.* **memores:** "since you well remember."

4. **firma:** referring logically to *animos,* as *magna* to *corpora.*

corpora animosque magna magis quam firma dederit;
eo in certamen omne plus terroris quam virium ferunt.
5 Argumento sit clades Romana; patentem cepere urbem;
ex arce Capitolioque iis exigua resistitur manu; iam
obsidionis taedio victi abscedunt vagique per agros
6 palantur. Cibo vinoque raptim hausto repleti, ubi
nox adpetit, prope rivos aquarum sine munimento,
sine stationibus ac custodiis passim ferarum ritu ster-
nuntur, nunc ab secundis rebus magis etiam solito
7 incauti. Si vobis in animo est tueri moenia vestra nec
pati haec omnia Gallorum fieri, prima vigilia capite
arma frequentesque me sequimini ad caedem, non ad
pugnam. Nisi vinctos somno velut pecudes trucidandos
tradidero, non recuso eundem Ardeae rerum mearum
exitum, quem Romae habui'.

1 XLV. Aequis iniquisque persuasum erat tantum
bello virum neminem usquam ea tempestate esse. Con-
tione dimissa corpora curant, intenti, quam mox sig-
num daretur. Quo dato, primo silentio noctis ad portas
2 Camillo praesto fuere. Egressi haud procul urbe, sicut
praedictum erat, castra Gallorum intuta neglectaque
ab omni parte nacti cum ingenti clamore invadunt.
3 Nusquam proelium, omnibus locis caedes est; nuda cor-
pora et soluta somno trucidantur. Extremos tamen
pavor cubilibus suis excitos, quae aut unde vis esset,
ignaros in fugam et quosdam in hostem ipsum impro-
vidos tulit. Magna pars in agrum Antiatem delati,
excursione ab oppidanis in palatos facta, circum-
veniuntur.

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6. hausto: "swallowed." **rivos aquarum:** "water courses." **sine munimento:** observe the implied contrast with the nightly *castra* of the Romans. **sternuntur:** middle voice.

7. recuso: emphatic for the future.

XLV. **1. aequis iniquisque:** "friends and foes."

2. ingenti: stronger than *magno*.

3. soluta: "relaxed." Contrast with *vinctos* (44. 7). **cubilibus suis:** "from where each lay." Cf. *ferarum ritu* (44. 6). **oppidanis:** i.e. of Antium.

4 XLVI. Veis interim non animi tantum in dies, sed etiam vires crescebant. Nec Romanis solum eo convenientibus ex agris, qui aut proelio adverso aut clade captae urbis palati fuerant, sed etiam ex Latio voluntariis con-
5 fluentibus, ut in parte praedae essent, maturum iam vide-
6 batur repeti patriam eripique ex hostium manibus; sed corpori valido caput deerat. Locus ipse admonebat Camilli, et magna pars militum erat, qui ductu auspi-
7 cioque eius res prospere gesserant. Consensu omnium placuit ab Ardea Camillum acciri, sed antea consulto senatu, qui Romae esset; adeo regebat omnia pudor, discriminaque rerum prope perditis rebus servabant.
8 Ingenti periculo transeundum per hostium custodias erat. Ad eam rem Pontius Cominius, impiger iuvenis, operam pollicitus, incubans cortici secundo Tiberi ad
9 urbem defertur. Inde, qua proximum fuit a ripa, per praeruptum eoque neglectum hostium custodia saxum in Capitolium evadit, et ad magistratus ductus man-
10 data exercitus edit. Accepto inde senatus consulto, uti comitiis curiatis revocatus de exilio iussu populi Camillus dictator extemplo diceretur militesque haberent imperatorem, quem vellent, eadem degressus nuntius Veios
11 contendit; missique Ardeam legati ad Camillum Veios eum perduxere, seu — quod magis credere libet, non

XLVI. The siege has continued at Rome, the Gauls merely preventing any escape.

4. **Romanis convenientibus:** causal abl. abs. **palati fuerant:** see Introd. V. 4. *c.*

5. **in parte:** = *participes.*

6. **Camilli:** as dictator in 396 B. C. he had forced the surrender of Veii, after the Romans had besieged the town for ten years.

7. **pudor:** "sense of propriety." **rerum . . . rebus:** i.e. "they observed distinction though near extinction."

8. **secundo Tiberi:** "down the Tiber;" after the analogy of *secunda aqua* (cf. 21. 28. 7).

9. **praeruptum . . . saxum:** the famous Tarpeian rock.

10. **uti . . . vellent:** the substance of the *senatus consultum.* **revocatus:** because an exile could not be appointed. **iussu populi:** with *diceretur.* **eadem:** sc. *via.*

11. **seu,** etc.: the point in doubt is whether Camillus, anticipating his recall and appointment, accompanied the *legati* at once to Veii, or whether, as Livy is more inclined to believe, he awaited more formally at Ardea

prius profectum ab Ardea, quam compererit legem latam, quod nec iniussu populi mutari finibus posset nec nisi dictator dictus auspicia in exercitu **habere — lex curiata** lata est dictatorque absens dictus.

1 XLVII. Dum haec Veis agebantur, interim arx
2 Romae Capitoliumque in ingenti periculo fuit. Namque Galli, seu vestigio notato humano, qua nuntius a Veis pervenerat, seu sua sponte animadverso ad Carmentis saxo ascensu aequo, nocte sublustri, cum primo inermem, qui temptaret viam, praemisissent, tradentes inde arma, ubi quid iniqui esset, alterni innixi sub-
3 levantesque in vicem et trahentes alii alios, prout postularet locus, tanto silentio in summum evasere, ut non custodes solum fallerent, sed ne canes quidem, sollicitum animal ad nocturnos strepitus, excitarent.
4 Anseres non fefellere, quibus sacris Iunonis in summa inopia cibi tamen abstinebatur. Quae res saluti fuit; namque clangore eorum alarumque crepitu excitus M. Manlius, qui triennio ante consul fuerat, vir bello egregius, armis arreptis simul ad arma ceteros ciens vadit, et, dum ceteri trepidant, Gallum, qui iam in
5 summo constiterat, umbone ictum deturbat. Cuius casus prolapsi cum proximos sterneret, trepidantes alios armisque omissis saxa, quibus adhaerebant, manibus amplexos trucidat. Iamque et alii congregati telis missilibusque saxis proturbare hostes, ruinaque tota

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until the action was taken. But cf. 9. 4. 14. The action was probably of a summary character, the legal snarls being later devices to expand the idea in 7.

XLVII. **2. qua:** sc. *parte*. **esset:** iterative, as is *postularet* (3). **alterni . . . alios:** "now supported by those beneath, or in turn pushing from below, and dragging one another along."

3. non . . . solum: a second *non* is not to be supplied, because *fallerent* = *non excitarent*.

4. sacris Iunonis: i.e. *quia sacrae aves Iunonis erant*. **in . . . inopia:** concessive. The next chapter dwells upon the famine. **Manlius:** according to later traditions he was commander-in-chief. **ictum deturbat:** "struck and dislodged."

5. Cuius . . . prolapsi: "his fall as he tumbled down." **omissis:** = *abiectis*.

6 prolapsa acies in praeceps deferri. Sedato deinde tumultu
reliquum noctis, quantum in turbatis mentibus poterat,
cum praeteritum quoque periculum sollicitaret, quieti
datum est.

7 Luce orta vocatis classico ad concilium militibus
ad tribunos, cum et recte et perperam facto pretium
deberetur, Manlius primum ob virtutem laudatus dona-
tusque non ab tribunis solum militum, sed consensu
8 etiam militari; cui universi selibras farris et quartarios
vini ad aedes eius, quae in arce erant, contulerunt, rem
dictu parvam, ceterum inopia fecerat eam argumentum
ingens caritatis, cum se quisque victu suo fraudans
detractum corpori atque usibus necessariis ad honorem
9 unius viri conferret. Tum vigiles eius loci, qua fefel-
lerat ascendens hostis, citati; et cum in omnes more
militari se animadversurum Q. Sulpicius tribunus mili-
10 tum pronuntiasset, consentiente clamore militum in
unum vigilem conicientium culpam, deterritus a ceteris
abstinuit, reum haud dubium eius noxae adprobantibus
11 cunctis de saxo deiecit. Inde intentiores utrimque
custodiae esse, et apud Gallos, quia vulgatum erat inter
Veios Romamque nuntios commeare, et apud Romanos
ab nocturni periculi memoria.

1 XLVIII. Sed ante omnia obsidionis bellique mala
2 fames utrumque exercitum urgebat, Gallos pestilentia
etiam, cum loco iacente inter tumulos castra habentes,
tum ab incendiis torrido et vaporis pleno cineremque,
non pulverem modo ferente, cum quid venti motum

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7. **ad tribunos:** the government at this time was vested in six military tribunes who had consular power. **facto:** see on 3. 47. 2.

8. **quartarios:** less than a quarter of a pint. **detractum:** = a rel. clause, repeating the idea of *fraudans*. Cf. 2. 10. 13.

9. **more militari:** "following military usage."

XLVIII. 2. **cum loco,** etc.: the order is *habentes castra loco cum iacente . . . tum torrido ab incendiis.* **ferente:** with *loco;* "giving forth." **cum . . . esset:** iterative; "when there was the slightest breeze."

3 esset. Quorum intolerantissima gens umorique ac fri-
gori adsueta, cum aestu et angore vexata, vulgatis
velut in pecua morbis, morerentur, iam pigritia sin-
gulos sepeliendi promiscue acervatos cumulos hominum
urebant; bustorumque inde Gallicorum nomine insig-
nem locum fecere.

4 Indutiae deinde cum Romanis factae et colloquia
permissu imperatorum habita; in quibus cum identi-
dem Galli famem obicerent eaque necessitate ad dedi-
tionem vocarent, dicitur avertendae eius opinionis
causa multis locis panis de Capitolio iactatus esse in
5 hostium stationes. Sed iam neque dissimulari neque
ferri ultra fames poterat. Itaque dum dictator dilectum
per se Ardeae habet, magistrum equitum L. Valerium
a Veis adducere exercitum iubet, parat instruitque,
6 quibus haud impar adoriatur hostes, interim Capitolinus
exercitus stationibus vigiliisque fessus, superatis tamen
humanis omnibus malis, cum famem unam natura
7 vinci non sineret, diem de die prospectans, ecquod
auxilium ab dictatore appareret, postremo spe quoque
iam, non solum cibo deficiente et, cum stationes pro-
cederent, prope obruentibus infirmum corpus armis vel
dedi vel redimi se, quacumque pactione possent, iussit,
iactantibus non obscure Gallis haud magna mercede se
8 adduci posse, ut obsidionem relinquant. Tum senatus

3. **umorique ac frigori:** the Romans uniformly speak disparagingly of the northern climate. **bustorumque . . . Gallicorum:** their exact location, though *media in urbe* (22. 14. 11), is unknown.

5. **L. Valerium:** Probably L. Valerius Potitus, consul 392 B. C., with whom Camillus had had close official relations. (31). **quibus:** = *ea, quibus;* a characterizing rel. clause.

6. **tamen:** both referring back to *stationibus . . . fessus*, and anticipating the concessive *cum* clause.

7. **prospectans:** the clauses thus far explain why Camillus is looked for so eagerly; after *postremo* comes their dire necessity. **cum . . . procederent:** "since there was continuous service on guard," i. e. one's turn came so quickly. **possent:** future in first form of the thought. **iussit:** with *exercitus*, expressing their will.

8. **tribunum militum:** balanced with *regulum Gallorum*, implying their power to conclude

habitus, tribunisque militum negotium datum, ut paci-
scerentur. Inde inter Q. Sulpicium tribunum militum
et Brennum, regulum Gallorum, colloquio transacta
res, et mille pondo auri pretium populi gentibus mox
9 imperaturi factum. Rei foedissimae per se adiecta in-
dignitas est: pondera ab Gallis adlata iniqua, et, tribuno
recusante, additus ab insolente Gallo ponderi gladius,
auditaque intoleranda Romanis vox: vae victis.

1 XLIX. Sed diique et homines prohibuere redemptos
vivere Romanos. Nam forte quadam, priusquam infanda
merces perficeretur, per altercationem nondum omni
auro appenso, dictator intervenit, auferrique aurum
2 de medio et Gallos submoveri iubet. Cum illi reni-
tentes pactos dicerent sese, negat eam pactionem ratam
esse, quae, postquam ipse dictator creatus esset, iniussu
suo ab inferioris iuris magistratu facta esset, denuntiat-
3 que Gallis, ut se ad proelium expediant. Suos in acervum
conicere sarcinas et arma aptare ferroque, non auro,
recuperare patriam iubet, in conspectu habentes fana
deum et coniuges et liberos et solum patriae deforme
belli malis et omnia, quae defendi repetique et ulcisci
4 fas sit. Instruit deinde aciem, ut loci natura patiebatur,
in semirutae solo urbis et natura inaequali, et omnia,
quae arte belli secunda suis eligi praepararive poterant,
5 providit. Galli nova re trepidi arma capiunt iraque
magis quam consilio in Romanos incurrunt. Iam ver-

the arrangements. **gentibus mox imperaturi**: note how the effect is thus heightened. Cf. Aen. 6. 853.

9. indignitas: the proverbial insult added to injury. **iniqua**: i.e. too heavy. **vae victis**: "woe to the worsted!"

XLIX. Camillus arrives and the siege is raised.

1. redemptos: emphatic predicate. **nondum . . . appenso**: "not yet weighed." Only Livy gives this dramatic turn to the arrival of Camillus.

2. denuntiatque: "warns." **ut . . . expediant**: A jussive substantive clause.

3. ulcisci: here a passive.

4. inaequali: with *solo*. **secunda**: with *quae*.

5. momento: "exertion."

terat fortuna, iam deorum opes humanaque consilia
rem Romanam adiuvabant. Igitur primo concursu haud
maiore momento fusi Galli sunt, quam ad Aliam vicerant.
6 Iustiore altero deinde proelio ad octavum lapidem
Gabina via, quo se ex fuga contulerant, eiusdem ductu
auspicioque Camilli vincuntur. Ibi caedes omnia
obtinuit; castra capiuntur, et ne nuntius quidem cladis
7 relictus. Dictator, recuperata ex hostibus patria, tri-
umphans in urbem redit, interque iocos militaris, quos
inconditos iaciunt, Romulus ac parens patriae condi-
torque alter urbis haud vanis laudibus appellabatur.
8 Servatam deinde bello patriam iterum in pace haud
dubie servavit, cum prohibuit migrari Veios et tribunis
rem intentius agentibus post incensam urbem et per
9 se inclinata magis plebe ad id consilium; eaque causa
fuit non abdicandae post triumphum dictaturae senatu
obsecrante, ne rem publicam in incerto relinqueret
statu.

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6. Iustiore . . . proelio: i.e. the second encounter was more properly a battle.

7. interque . . . iaciunt: "amid the rough jests which the soldiers, as is their fashion, flung about them." Cf. 3. 29. 5.

8. migrari Veios: "removal to Veii." This had been urged before by the tribunes in 395 B. C. The following is Livy's report of the natural advantages urged for Rome: *Non sine causa dii hominesque hunc urbi condendae locum elegerunt, saluberrimos colles, flumen opportunum, quo ex mediterraneis locis fruges devehantur, quo maritimi commeatus accipiantur, mare vicinum ad commoditates nec expositum nimia propinquitate ad pericula classium externarum, regionem Italiae mediam, ad incrementum urbis natum unice locum* (54. 4).

TITI LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER VII.

1 XXIX. Maiora iam hinc bella et viribus hostium
et longinquitate vel regionum vel temporum, quibus
bellatum est, dicentur. Namque eo anno adversus
Samnites, gentem opibus armisque validam, mota arma;
2 Samnitium bellum ancipiti Marte gestum Pyrrhus hostis,
Pyrrhum Poeni secuti. Quanta rerum moles! Quotiens
in extrema periculorum ventum, ut in hanc magni-
tudinem, quae vix sustinetur, erigi imperium posset!
3 Belli autem causa cum Samnitibus Romanis, cum soci-
etate amicitiaque iuncti essent, extrinsecus venit, non
4 orta inter ipsos est. Samnites Sidicinis iniusta arma,

XXIX. XXX. 1-10. 19-23. XXXI-XXXII. 4. XXXIII. 5-18. THE FIRST SAMNITE WAR, 343-341 B. C.

Rome's expansion from a small settlement to a world empire came first through the subjugation of her immediate neighbors and then of all Italy. By the middle of the fourth century B. C. she had encountered, successfully for the most part, the Latins, Sabines, southern Etrurians, Aequians, Volscian, Hernicians, and Aruncians. But the Samnites, who occupied a large part of central Italy from the Adriatic to the mountain range and Campania, a sturdy mountain folk full of the spirit of independence, proved to be foemen worthy of Rome. For nearly fifty years they gave the growing state its most severe struggle for Italian supremacy.

XXIX. 1. **Maiora iam hinc:** practically a special preface to this division. Cf. Aen. 7. 44 *maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo.* **eo anno:** 343 B. C.

2. **ancipiti Marte:** "with varying success." **rerum moles:** "mass of events."

3. **Romanis:** next to *Samnitibus* for special effect, the "Roman-Samnite" war. Cf. 9. 1. 1. **cum . . . iuncti essent:** (19. 4). In 354 B. C.

4. **Sidicinis:** a people living to the north of the Campanians. The Samnites pressing over their border thus first encountered the Sidicinians. **sese coniungunt:** sc. *Sidicini.*

quia viribus plus poterant, cum intulissent, coacti inopes
ad opulentiorum auxilium confugere, Campanis sese
5 coniungunt. Campani magis nomen ad praesidium
sociorum quam vires cum attulissent, fluentes luxu ab
duratis usu armorum in Sidicino pulsi agro, in se deinde
6 molem omnem belli verterunt. Namque Samnites
omissis Sidicinis ipsam arcem finitimorum, Campanos,
adorti, unde aeque facilis victoria, praedae atque gloriae
plus esset, Tifata, imminentis Capuae colles, cum prae-
sidio firmo occupassent, descendunt inde quadrato
agmine in planitiem, quae Capuam Tifataque interiacet.
7 Ibi rursus acie dimicatum; adversoque proelio Campani
intra moenia compulsi, cum robore iuventutis suae acciso
nulla propinqua spes esset, coacti sunt ab Romanis
petere auxilium.

1 XXX. Legati introducti in senatum maxime in
hanc sententiam locuti sunt: 'populus nos Campanus
legatos ad vos, patres conscripti, misit amicitiam in
2 perpetuum, auxilium praesens a vobis petitum. Quam
si secundis rebus nostris petissemus, sicut coepta celerius,
ita infirmiore vinculo contracta esset. Tunc enim, ut
qui ex aequo nos venisse in amicitiam meminissemus,
amici forsitan pariter ac nunc, subiecti atque obnoxii
3 vobis minus essemus; nunc, misericordia vestra con-
ciliati auxilioque in dubiis rebus defensi, beneficium
quoque acceptum colamus oportet, ne ingrati atque

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5. Campani: the inhabitants of the rich *ager Campanus*, whose chief city was Capua. They were even remotely of Samnite stock, but now grown effete (*fluentes luxu*) they presented weak resistance to their invaders (6).

6. aeque: as from the Sidicinians. **esset:** = fut. indic. in the direct thought. **Tifata:** a range of hills rising above Capua.

XXX. **1. maxime . . . sententiam:** "very much to this effect." **populus nos Campanus legatos:** an interlocked order often found in poetry. **patres conscripti:** see on 2. 1. 11. **petitum:** supine.

2. Quam: translate "the friendship." **sicut . . . ita:** "though . . . yet." See on 1. 25. 7. **ut qui:** see on Praef. 2.

3. conciliati . . . defensi: the assumption is diplomatic.

4 omni ope divina humanaque indigni videamur. Neque hercule, quod Samnites priores amici sociique vobis facti sunt, ad id valere arbitror, ne nos in amicitiam accipiamur, sed ut vetustate et gradu honoris nos praestent. Neque enim foedere Samnitium, ne qua nova
5 iungeretis foedera, cautum est. Fuit quidem apud vos semper satis iusta causa amicitiae, velle eum vobis
6 amicum esse, qui vos appeteret; Campani, etsi fortuna praesens magnifice loqui prohibet, non urbis amplitudine, non agri ubertate ulli populo praeterquam vobis cedentes, haud parva, ut arbitror, accessio bonis rebus
7 vestris in amicitiam venimus vestram. Aequis Volscisque, aeternis hostibus huius urbis, quandocumque se moverint, ab tergo erimus et, quod vos pro salute nostra priores feceritis, id nos pro imperio vestro et gloria
8 semper faciemus. Subactis his gentibus, quae inter nos vosque sunt, quod prope diem futurum spondet et virtus et fortuna vestra, continens imperium usque ad
9 nos habebitis. Acerbum ac miserum est, quod fateri nos fortuna nostra cogit: eo ventum est, patres conscripti, ut aut amicorum aut inimicorum Campani simus.
10 Si defenditis, vestri, si deseritis, Samnitium erimus; Capuam ergo et Campaniam omnem vestris an Sam-
19 nitium viribus accedere malitis, deliberate. Vobis ara-

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4. **ad id valere . . . ne**: "has weight to prevent." **arbitror**: the spokesman loses the official plural for the moment. Cf. 31. 3. **neque . . . cautum est**: "no provision was made against." The sophistry here consists in mentioning what is true but not bearing on the real source of danger to Rome. War with the Samnites would surely follow the particular alliance now sought.

5. **velle**: sc. *vos;* "your wishing," etc., subject of *fuit.*

6. **magnifice loqui**: cf. the colloquial *magna loqui,* "talking big." **urbis**: Capua. Hannibal even promised to make it the capital of Italy (23. 10. 2.) **venimus**: the pres. is more insistent than the future.

7. **Aequis Volscisque**: dat. of ref. with *ab tergo.*

9. **amicorum**: pred. poss. gen.

19. **ager Campanus**: the fairest in all Italy (22. 14. 1). Cf. below 31. 1. **vobis . . . frequentabitur**: "the great population of Capua will be at your command," i. e. for levies.

bitur ager Campanus, vobis Capua urbs frequentabitur; conditorum, parentium, deorum immortalium numero nobis eritis, nulla colonia vestra erit, quae nos obsequio
20 erga vos fideque superet. Adnuite, patres conscripti, nutum numenque vestrum invictum Campanis, et iubete
21 sperare incolumem Capuam futuram. Qua frequentia omnium generum multitudinis prosequente creditis nos illinc profectos? Quam omnia votorum lacrimarumque plena reliquisse? In qua nunc expectatione senatum populumque Campanum, coniuges liberosque nostros
22 esse? Stare omnem multitudinem ad portas viam hinc ferentem prospectantes certum habeo. Quid illis nos, patres conscripti, sollicitis ac pendentibus animi renun-
23 tiare iubetis? Alterum responsum salutem, victoriam, lucem ac libertatem, alterum — ominari horreo quae ferat! Proinde ut aut de vestris futuris sociis atque amicis aut nusquam ullis futuris nobis consulite.'

1 XXXI. Submotis deinde legatis cum consultus senatus esset, etsi magnae parti urbs maxima opulentissimaque Italiae, uberrimus ager marique propinquus ad varietates annonae horreum populi Romani fore videbatur, tamen tanta utilitate fides antiquior fuit, respon-
2 ditque ita ex auctoritate senatus consul: 'auxilio vos, Campani, dignos censet senatus, sed ita vobiscum amicitiam institui par est, ne qua vetustior amicitia ac societas violetur. Samnites nobiscum foedere iuncti sunt; itaque arma, deos prius quam homines violatura, adversus

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20. Adnuite . . . nutum numenque: an epic *figura etymologica*, with speedy recognition of the Romans as in *numero deorum* (19).

22. prospectantes: "eagerly scanning;" *ad sensum* agreement with *multitudo*. Others construe with *portas*. **animi:** locative.

23. Proinde: see on 1. 9. 4. **nusquam . . . futuris:** i.e. refusal meant their annihilation by the Samnites.

XXXI. **1. ad varietates annonae:** "to meet fluctuations in provisions." **tanta . . . fuit:** "their sense of honor was stronger than the consideration of great expediency." *Antiquior* frequently implies that the thing which has survived is better.

2. deos: as witnesses of the treaty. Cf. 9. 1. 7.

3 Samnites vobis negamus; legatos, sicut ius fasque est,
ad socios atque amicos precatum mittemus, ne qua
vobis vis fiat.' Ad ea princeps legationis — sic enim
domo mandatum attulerant — 'quando quidem' inquit
'nostra tueri adversus vim atque iniuriam iusta vi non
4 vultis, vestra certe defendetis: itaque populum Cam-
panum urbemque Capuam, agros, delubra deum, divina
humanaque omnia in vestram, patres conscripti, popu-
lique Romani dicionem dedimus, quidquid deinde
5 patiemur, dediticii vestri passuri.' Sub haec dicta omnes
manus ad consules tendentes, pleni lacrimarum in vesti-
6 bulo curiae procubuerunt. Commoti patres vice for-
tunarum humanarum, si ille praepotens opibus populus,
luxuria superbiaque clarus, a quo paulo ante auxilium
finitimi petissent, adeo infractos gereret animos, ut se
7 ipse suaque omnia potestatis alienae faceret. Tum iam
fides agi visa, deditos non prodi; nec facturum aequa
Samnitium populum censebant, si agrum urbemque
per deditionem factam populi Romani oppugnarent.
8 Legatos itaque extemplo mitti ad Samnites placuit.
Data mandata, ut preces Campanorum, responsum
senatus amicitiae Samnitium memor, deditionem pos-
9 tremo factam Samnitibus exponerent; peterent pro
societate amicitiaque, ut dediticiis suis parcerent, neque
in eum agrum, qui populi Romani factus esset, hostilia
10 arma inferrent; si leniter agendo parum proficerent,
denuntiarent Samnitibus populi Romani senatusque

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4. **itaque . . . dedimus:** cf. 1. 38. 2. **dediticii:** "as subject to your control."

6. **Commoti:** sc. *sunt.* **luxuria . . . clarus:** the source of their fame was the ultimate cause of their weakness (32. 7); *superbia Campana* became proverbial. Cf. 9. 6. 5. **potestatis:** cf. *dicionis*, 1. 25. 13.

7. **fides,** etc.: cf. 1. Their honor now seemed to be involved from another point of view. **oppugnarent:** a fut. in the first form of the thought.

8. **Data mandata:** the combination is not euphonious, but it avoids *mandata data,* which Roman rhetoricians would have condemned.

10. **denuntiarent:** see on 5. 49. 2. **populi Romani senatusque:** reverse of the usual order, as at 8. 4. 11.

verbis, ut Capua urbe Campanoque agro abstinerent.
11 Haec legatis agentibus in concilio Samnitium adeo est
ferociter responsum, ut non solum gesturos se esse dicerent
12 id bellum, sed magistratus eorum e curia egressi stan-
tibus legatis praefectos cohortium vocarent iisque clara
voce imperarent, ut praedatum in agrum Campanum
extemplo proficiscerentur.

1 XXXII. Hac legatione Romam relata, positis
omnium aliarum rerum curis, patres fetialibus ad res
repetendas missis belloque, quia non redderentur,
sollemni more indicto decreverunt, ut primo quoque
2 tempore de ea re ad populum ferretur. Iussuque populi
consules ambo cum duobus exercitibus ab urbe pro-
fecti, Valerius in Campaniam, Cornelius in Samnium,
ille ad montem Gaurum, hic ad Saticulam castra ponunt.
3 Priori Valerio Samnitium legiones — eo namque omnem
belli molem inclinaturam censebant — occurrunt. Simul
in Campanos stimulabat ira, tam promptos nunc ad
4 ferenda nunc ad accersenda adversus se auxilia. Ut
vero castra Romana viderunt, ferociter pro se quisque
signum duces poscere; adfirmare eadem fortuna Roma-
num Campano laturum opem, qua Campanus Sidicino
tulerit.

5 XXXIII. Proelium, ut quod maxime umquam, pari
spe utrimque, aequis viribus, cum fiducia sui sine con-
6 temptu hostium commissum est. Samnitibus ferociam

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12. **stantibus:** = *adstantibus*.

XXXII. 1. **fetialibus:** the college of twenty *fetiales* were international arbitrators. They demanded restitution, declared war after a vote of the people, and formally concluded peace. **redderentur:** indirect thought. The demand was for Campanian property which became Rome's according to the surrender. **primo quoque:** cf. on 3. 54. 5. The senate, acting for the people, had in fact already voted the war.

2. **Gaurum:** near the coast N. of Cumae. **Saticulam:** a town some ten miles E. of Capua, over the Samnite border.

3. **stimulabat:** sc. *eos*, to which *adversus se* refers.

4. **tulerit:** see Introd. V. 4. *f*.

XXXIII. 5. **ut . . . umquam:** a shortened comparison; like Eng. "if ever any was."

6. **aequalis victoria:** "a record

augebant novae res gestae et paucos ante dies geminata
victoria, Romanis contra quadringentorum annorum
7 decora et conditae urbi aequalis victoria; utrisque tamen
novus hostis curam addebat. Pugna indicio fuit, quos
gesserint animos; namque ita conflixerunt, ut aliquamdiu
8 in neutram partem inclinarent acies. Tum consul trepi-
dationem iniciendam ratus, quando vi pelli non poterant,
equitibus immissis turbare prima signa hostium con-
9 atur. Quos ubi nequiquam tumultuantes in spatio
exiguo volvere turmas vidit nec posse aperire in hostes
viam, revectus ad antesignanos legionum cum desiluisset
10 ex equo, 'nostrum' inquit 'peditum illud, milites, est
opus: agitedum, ut me videritis, quacumque incessero
in aciem hostium, ferro viam facientem, sic pro se quis-
que obvios sternite; illa omnia, qua nunc erectae micant
11 hastae, patefacta strage vasta cernetis.' Vix haec dicta
dederat, cum equites consulis iussu discurrunt in cornua
legionibusque in mediam aciem aperiunt viam. Primus
omnium consul invadit hostem, et, cum quo forte con-
12 tulit gradum, obtruncat. Hoc spectaculo accensi dextra
laevaque ante se quisque memorandum proelium cient.
Stant obnixi Samnites, quamquam plura accipiunt quam
13 inferunt vulnera. Aliquamdiu iam pugnatum erat, atrox
caedes circa signa Samnitium, fuga ab nulladum parte
14 erat; adeo morte sola vinci destinaverant animis. Itaque
Romani, cum et fluere iam lassitudine vires sentirent
et diei haud multum superesse, accensi ira concitant

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of victory co-extensive with."

9. Quos . . . tumultuantes: the *equites* were ineffective through confusion in their lines. **aperire . . . viam:** a poetic phrase which the commander drops in 10. **antesignanos:** "the van;" two lines, the *hastati* and *principes*, fought before the *signa*.

10. peditum: gen. in appos. with the possessive adj. See on *suomet ipsorum*, 5. 38. 7. **pro se:** "with all his might." **erectae micant:** "bristle and flash."

12. dextra laevaque: of the consul. **proelium cient:** elsewhere used only of the leaders (cf. 1. 12. 2), but here each acts *pro se* (10).

13. nulladum: "none as yet;" a rare combination, after the analogy of *nondum*. Cf. 9. 12. 3.

14. fluere: "ebbing."

15 se in hostem. Tum primum referri pedem atque incli-
nari rem in fugam apparuit; tum capi, occidi Samnis;
nec superfuissent multi, ni nox victoriam magis quam
16 proelium diremisset. Et Romani fatebantur numquam
cum pertinaciore hoste conflictum, et Samnites, cum
quaereretur, quaenam prima causa tam obstinatos
17 movisset in fugam, oculos sibi Romanorum ardere visos
aiebant vesanosque vultus et furentia ora; inde plus
quam ex alia ulla re terroris ortum. Quem terrorem
non pugnae solum eventu, sed nocturna profectione
18 confessi sunt. Postero die vacuis hostium castris
Romanus potitur, quo se omnis Campanorum multi-
tudo gratulabunda effudit.

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15. Samnis: see Introd. V. 2. *c.* **ni:** chiefly used by Livy in unreal condit. Cf. 1. 48. 9.

17. ardere visos: equivalent to a rel. clause, and thus parallel with *vesanos* and *furentia*. **vesanos . . . ora:** "frenzied features and furious aspect."

18. omnis: a natural exaggeration. **gratulabunda:** see Introd. V. 2. *e*.

The other consul, Cornelius (cf. 32. 2), all but suffered a great disaster in the Samnite territory, through leading his men into a deep defile beset by the enemy. His rescue was due to P. Decius Mus, who seized a vantage point disregarded by the Samnites. More than twenty years later the Romans were again entrapped, at the Caudine Forks, and the disaster which they then sustained was one of the most humiliating in their history.

TITI LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER IX.

1 I. Sequitur hunc annum nobilis clade Romana Caudina pax, T. Veturio Calvino Sp. Postumio con-
2 sulibus. Samnites eo anno imperatorem C. Pontium, Herenni filium, habuerunt, patre longe prudentissimo
3 natum, primum ipsum bellatorem ducemque. Is, ubi legati, qui ad dedendas res missi erant, pace infecta redierunt, 'ne nihil actum' inquit 'hac legatione censeatis, expiatum est, quidquid ex foedere rupto irarum
4 in nos caelestium fuit. Satis scio, quibuscumque diis cordi fuit subigi nos ad necessitatem dedendi res, quae

I-V. 2. 6-VIII. 12. X-XII. 4. THE ROMANS ENTRAPPED AT THE CAUDINE FORKS.

In 322 B. C., during the early stages of the second Samnite war (326-304 B. C.), the Samnites had suffered a crushing defeat and had sent ambassadors to make restitution for their breaking a truce secured in 324 B. C. The violator of the truce, Brutulus Papius, had committed suicide (cf. 1. 6.) when the embassy was voted, but his body and property, together with all captives and booty, were offered to the Romans. As they, however, accepted the men and booty, but insisted upon the recognition of their supremacy by the Samnites, the latter prepared again for war under Pontius, the "Samnite Hannibal," and in 321 B. C. entrapped the Romans in the memorable mountain pass at Caudium.

I. 1. **pax:** a "convention" among the officers to save the Roman troops (cf. ch. 11), but not ratified by the senate.

2. Herenni: cf. 3. 4. He is referred to in complimentary terms by Cic. de Sen. 41.

3. infecta: = *non facta.* **ex foedere rupto:** made in 341 B. C., and broken in 327 B. C. by the Samnites in aiding the Palaepolitani against Rome. **caelestium:** poetic adj. used as subst. instead of *deorum.*

4. cordi fuit: whatever gods "willed it." See Introd. V. 1. *b.* (2). The construction is independent of *satis scio.*

ab nobis ex foedere repetitae fuerant, iis non fuisse
cordi tam superbe ab Romanis foederis expiationem
5 spretam. Quid enim ultra fieri ad placandos deos miti-
gandosque homines potuit, quam quod nos fecimus?
Res hostium in praeda captas, quae belli iure nostrae
6 videbantur, remisimus; auctores belli, quia vivos non
potuimus, perfunctos iam fato dedidimus; bona eorum,
ne quid ex contagione noxae remaneret penes nos,
7 Romam portavimus. Quid ultra tibi, Romane, quid
foederi, quid diis arbitris foederis debeo? Quem tibi
tuarum irarum, quem meorum suppliciorum iudicem
feram? Neminem, neque populum neque privatum,
8 fugio, quod si nihil cum potentiore iuris humani relin-
quitur inopi, at ego ad deos vindices intolerandae super-
biae confugiam et precabor, ut iras suas vertant in
9 eos, quibus non suae redditae res, non alienae adcu-
mulatae satis sint; quorum saevitiam non mors noxiorum,
non deditio exanimatorum corporum, non bona sequentia
domini deditionem exsatient; qui placari nequeant, nisi
hauriendum sanguinem laniandaque viscera nostra prae-
10 buerimus. Iustum est bellum, Samnites, quibus neces-
sarium, et pia arma, quibus nulla nisi in armis relinquitur
11 spes. Proinde, cum rerum humanarum maximum
momentum sit, quam propitiis rem, quam adversis
agant diis, pro certo habete priora bella adversus deos
magis quam homines gessisse, hoc, quod instat, ducibus
ipsis diis gesturos.'

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6. **auctores**: either rhetorical exaggeration, or Livy here follows a tradition that gives Papius associates. **perfunctos iam fato**: euphemistic for *mortuos*. **noxae**: = *noxiae;* part. gen. with *quid*.

7. **Romane**: the apostrophe adds greatly to the rhetorical effect. **feram**: "offer," i.e. as arbitrator to judge the merits of the case.

8. **iuris**: with *nihil*. The protest is against might's making right.

9. **alienae adcumulatae**: "the addition of that belonging to others."

10. **Iustum bellum, pia arma**: most essential conditions from a Roman point of view, technically at least.

11. **agant**: sc. *homines*. **gessisse**: sc. *vos* from *habete*.

1 II. Haec non laeta magis quam vera vaticinatus,
exercitu educto circa Caudium castra quam potest
2 occultissime locat. Inde ad Calatiam, ubi iam con-
sules Romanos castraque esse audiebat, milites decem
pastorum habitu mittit, pecoraque diversos alium alibi
3 haud procul Romanis pascere iubet praesidiis: ubi
inciderint in praedatores, ut idem omnibus sermo con-
stet, legiones Samnitium in Apulia esse, Luceriam omni-
bus copiis circumsedere, nec procul abesse, quin vi
4 capiant. Iam is rumor, ante de industria vulgatus,
venerat ad Romanos, sed fidem auxere captivi, eo maxime,
5 quod sermo inter omnes congruebat. Haud erat dubium,
quin Lucerinis opem Romanus ferret, bonis ac fidelibus
sociis, simul ne Apulia omnis ad praesentem terrorem
6 deficeret; ea modo, qua irent, consultatio fuit. Duae
ad Luceriam ferebant viae, altera praeter oram superi
maris, patens apertaque, sed quanto tutior, tanto fere
7 longior, altera per furculas Caudinas brevior. Sed ita
natus locus est: saltus duo alti, angusti silvosique sunt,
montibus circa perpetuis inter se iuncti. Iacet inter
eos satis patens, clausus in medio, campus herbidus
8 aquosusque, per quem medium iter est. Sed antequam
venias ad eum, intrandae primae angustiae sunt, et

II. **1. circa:** "near."

2. Calatiam: a few miles S. E. of Capua, and on the line of travel thence through the Apennine passes, or Forks, at Caudium. This route was the short cut from the north to Luceria, where it was alleged that Roman allies were in distress. **praesidiis:** "picket line."

3. abesse: see on 1. 5. 6.

4. de industria: see Introd. V. 3. *d*. **captivi:** the "shepherds" were captured, as Pontius had planned

5. ferret: the subjunctive expresses obligation. See on 19. 13. **ea:** = *de ea re*. See on 1. 53. 1.

7. ita natus: "such is its nature." Livy elaborates the danger instead of merely adding *periculosior* to balance *tutior* above. **saltus duo:** these two deep passes, probably between the modern Arpaia on the west and Montesarchio on the east, gave access to an open marshy meadow about five miles wide by seven and a half long. This *campus* was otherwise shut in by a continuous chain of mountains that joined the defiles on either side.

8. si . . . pergas: "if one pushes on ahead."

aut eadem, qua te insinuaveris, retro via repetenda
aut, si ire porro pergas, per alium saltum artiorem impe-
9 ditioremque evadendum. In eum campum via alia per
cavam rupem Romani demisso agmine cum ad alias
angustias protinus pergerent, saeptas deiectu arborum
saxorumque ingentium obiacente mole invenere.
Cum fraus hostilis apparuisset, praesidium etiam in
10 summo saltu conspicitur. Citati inde retro, qua ven-
erant, pergunt repetere viam. Eam quoque clausam
sua obice armisque inveniunt. Sistunt inde gradum
sine ullius imperio, stuporque omnium animos ac velut
11 torpor quidam insolitus membra tenet, intuentesque
alii alios, cum alterum quisque compotem magis mentis
12 ac consilii ducerent, diu immobiles silent. Deinde ubi
praetoria consulum erigi videre et expedire quosdam
utilia operi, quamquam ludibrio fore munientes per-
13 ditis rebus ac spe omni adempta cernebant, tamen, ne
culpam malis adderent, pro se quisque nec hortante
ullo nec imperante ad muniendum versi castra propter
aquam vallo circumdant, sua ipsi opera laboremque
14 inritum, praeterquam quod hostes superbe increpabant,
15 cum miserabili confessione eludentes. Ad consules
maestos, ne advocantes quidem in consilium, quando
nec consilio nec auxilio locus esset, sua sponte legati
ac tribuni conveniunt, militesque ad praetorium versi
opem, quam vix dii immortales ferre poterant, ab duci-

9. eum: such as just described. **via alia:** i.e. *primis augustiis* (cf. 8). **per . . . rupem:** "through a rocky gorge." **deiectu arborum:** = *deiectis arboribus*, but used for symmetry with the construction that follows.

10. sua . . . armisque: "with its own barricade and assignment of armed men." **velut . . . insolitus:** "a strange sort of numbness." The general helplessness of the army, as well as the difficulties of the pass, loses nothing in Livy's graphic account.

12. ludibrio fore: sc. *se;* "that they would appear ridiculous."

13. versi: middle voice. **sua ipsi opera,** etc.: "themselves deriding their own work and effort in pitiable recognition of its uselessness."

15. quando . . . esset: the thought of the consuls.

1 bus exposcunt. III. Querentes magis quam consul-
tantes nox oppressit, cum pro ingenio quisque fremerent,
alius: 'per obices viarum, per adversa montium, per
2 silvas, qua ferri arma poterunt, eamus; modo ad hostem
pervenire liceat, quem per annos iam prope triginta
vincimus; omnia aequa et plana erunt Romano in per-
3 fidum Samnitem pugnanti;' alius: 'quo aut qua eamus?
Num montes moliri sede sua paramus? Dum haec immine-
bunt iuga, qua tu ad hostem venies? Armati inermes,
fortes ignavi, pariter omnes capti atque victi sumus;
ne ferrum quidem ad bene moriendum oblaturus est
4 hostis, sedens bellum conficiet.' His invicem sermon-
ibus qua cibi, qua quietis immemor nox traducta est.

Ne Samnitibus quidem consilium in tam laetis sup-
petebat rebus. Itaque universi Herennium Pontium,
patrem imperatoris, per litteras consulendum censent.
5 Iam is gravis annis non militaribus solum, sed civilibus
quoque abscesserat muneribus; in corpore tamen adfecto
6 vigebat vis animi consiliique. Is ubi accepit ad furculas
Caudinas inter duos saltus clausos esse exercitus Romanos,
consultus ab nuntio filii censuit omnes inde quam primum
7 inviolatos dimittendos. Quae ubi spreta sententia est
iterumque eodem remeante nuntio consulebatur, cen-
8 suit ad unum omnes interficiendos. Quae ubi tam
discordia inter se velut ex ancipiti oraculo responsa
data sunt, quamquam filius ipse in primis iam animum
quoque patris consenuisse in adfecto corpore rebatur,

III. 1. **per adversa montium:** for symmetry with the preceding phrase, instead of *per adversos montes*.

3. **moliri:** = *amoliri*, "to remove." **tu:** the first speaker, whose three points are specifically answered. **sedens:** adversative asyndeton, possibly to avoid the combination *sed sedens*. See on 7. 31. 8.

4. **qua . . . qua:** = *et . . . et*. Cf. Eng. "what with," in adverbial sense.

5. **adfecto:** "broken."

6. **exercitus:** the two consular armies, about 36,000 men.

8. **velut . . . oraculo:** "as if from an oracle with its ambiguity." Often the responses took a new meaning after the event. **victus est:** "was prevailed upon."

tamen consensu omnium victus est, ut ipsum in con-
9 silium acciret. Nec gravatus senex plaustro in castra
dicitur advectus vocatusque in consilium ita ferme
locutus esse, ut nihil sententiae suae mutaret, causas
10 tantum adiceret: priore se consilio, quod optimum
duceret, cum potentissimo populo per ingens bene-
ficium perpetuam firmare pacem amicitiamque; altero
consilio in multas aetates, quibus, amissis duobus exer-
citibus, haud facile receptura vires Romana res esset,
11 bellum differre; tertium nullum consilium esse. Cum
filius aliique principes percunctando exsequerentur, quid,
si media via consilii caperetur, ut et dimitterentur
incolumes et leges iis iure belli victis imponerentur:
12 'ista quidem sententia' inquit 'ea est, quae neque amicos
parat nec inimicos tollit. Servate modo, quos ignominia
inritaveritis: ea est Romana gens, quae victa quiescere
13 nesciat. Vivet semper in pectoribus illorum quidquid
istuc praesens necessitas inusserit, nec eos ante multi-
plices poenas expetitas a vobis quiescere sinet.'
1 IV. Neutra sententia accepta, Herennius domum e
castris est avectus. Et in castris Romanis cum frustra
multi conatus ad erumpendum capti essent, et iam
2 omnium rerum inopia esset, victi necessitate legatos
mittunt, qui primum pacem aequam peterent; si pacem
3 non impetrarent, uti provocarent ad pugnam. Tum
Pontius debellatum esse respondit, et, quoniam ne victi
quidem ac capti fortunam fateri scirent, inermes cum
singulis vestimentis sub iugum missurum; alias con-

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9. Nec gravatus: "without resentment."

10. firmare; differre: conative. **quibus:** see on 1. 29. 6.

11. leges: "conditions."

12. quae . . . tollit: see on *quo*, 2. 32. 11. **Servate modo:** strongly ironical.

13. quidquid, etc.: "whatever as your demand the immediate necessity shall brand upon them;" subject of *vivet*.

IV. **1. Herennius:** Livy uses this foreign praenomen (3. 4) alone, because it was also a Roman nomen. He would not say "Gaius" for the son.

3. debellatum esse: "the war was over;" *de* is intensive.

4 diciones pacis aequas victis ac victoribus fore: si agro
Samnitium decederetur, coloniae abducerentur, suis inde
legibus Romanum ac Samnitem aequo foedere vic-
5 turum. His condicionibus paratum se esse foedus cum
consulibus ferire; si quid eorum displiceat, legatos redire
6 ad se vetuit. Haec cum legatio renuntiaretur, tantus
gemitus omnium subito exortus est tantaque maestitia
incessit, ut non gravius accepturi viderentur, si nun-
tiaretur omnibus eo loco mortem oppetendam esse.
7 Cum diu silentium fuisset, nec consules aut pro foedere
tam turpi aut contra foedus tam necessarium hiscere
possent, tum L. Lentulus, qui princeps legatorum
8 virtute atque honoribus erat: 'patrem meum' inquit,
'consules, saepe audivi memorantem se in Capitolio
unum non fuisse auctorem senatui redimendae auro a
Gallis civitatis, quando nec fossa valloque ab ignavis-
simo ad opera ac muniendum hoste clausi essent, et
erumpere, si non sine magno periculo, tamen sine certa
9 pernicie possent. Quod si, ut illis decurrere ex Capi-
tolio armatis in hostem licuit, quo saepe modo obsessi
in obsidentes eruperunt, ita nobis aequo aut iniquo
loco dimicandi tantummodo cum hoste copia esset, non
mihi paterni animi indoles in consilio dando deesset.
10 Equidem mortem pro patria praeclaram esse fateor, et
me vel devovere pro populo Romano legionibusque vel
11 in medios me immittere hostes paratus sum. Sed hic

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4. coloniae: established at Fregellae and Cales, near Samnite territory.

6. nuntiaretur: either for pluperf., because made contemporary with *viderentur*, or more likely a possible fut. from the past point of view.

7. hiscere: "to utter a syllable."

8. non . . . senatui: "refused to support the senate's plan." This incident is not mentioned elsewhere. Cf. 5. 48.

9. eruperunt: gnomic, for customary action. **paterni . . . indoles:** "my father's mettle."

10. devovere: sc. *dis Manibus*. By this act the devotee became sacred to the gods, who would avenge his destruction by the enemy. So Decius Mus had devoted himself in 340 B. C.

11. pro se ipsis: rhetorically representing death as "in their own

patriam video, hic quidquid Romanarum legionum est;
quae nisi pro se ipsis ad mortem ruere volunt, quid
12 habent, quod morte sua servent? Tecta urbis, dicat
aliquis, et moenia et eam turbam, a qua urbs incolitur.
Immo hercule produntur ea omnia deleto hoc exercitu,
13 non servantur. Quis enim ea tuebitur? Imbellis vide-
licet atque inermis multitudo. Tam hercule, quam a
Gallorum impetu defendit. An a Veiis exercitum Camil-
14 lumque ducem implorabunt? Hic omnes spes opesque
sunt, quas servando patriam servamus, dedendo ad
necem patriam deserimus ac prodimus. At foeda atque
15 ignominiosa deditio est. Sed ea caritas patriae est, ut
tam ignominia eam quam morte nostra, si opus sit,
16 servemus. Subeatur ergo ista, quantacumque est, indig-
nitas, et pareatur necessitati, quam ne dii quidem supe-
rant. Ite, consules, redimite armis civitatem, quam
auro maiores vestri redemerunt.'

1 V. Consules profecti ad Pontium in colloquium, cum
de foedere victor agitaret, negarunt iniussu populi
foedus fieri posse nec sine fetialibus caerimoniaque alia
2 sollemni. Itaque non, ut vulgo credunt Claudiusque
etiam scribit, foedere pax Caudina, sed per sponsionem
6 facta est. Tempus inde statutum tradendis obsidibus
exercituque inermi mittendo.

Redintegravit luctum in castris consulum adventus,

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interest." The brave course now is to take the disgrace.

12. turbam: a soldier's contempt for civilians.

13. An: used thus rhetorically, *an* regularly introduces an obvious impossibility.

15. At, etc.: the objection of an imaginary opponent. **caritas patriae:** "patriotism." See on 1. 34. 5.

16. armis: i.e. giving them up (cf. *inermes*, 3), as gold was paid to the Gauls.

V. **1. fetialibus:** see on **7. 32.** 1.

2. Claudius: Claudius Quadrigarius, a Roman historian. See Introd. III. **sponsionem:** the consuls and their official advisers became *sponsores* (7. 9), binding themselves through 600 *equites* as hostages to secure approval at Rome for the terms agreed upon. For the method of the *foedus* cf. 1. 24. 4-9.

6. exercituque: dative. **mittendo:** sc. *sub iugum*. Cf. 3. 28. 11. **abstinerent:** sc. *milites*.

ut vix ab iis abstinerent manus, quorum temeritate in
eum locum deducti essent, quorum ignavia foedius inde,
7 quam venissent, abituri: illis non ducem locorum, non
exploratorem fuisse; beluarum modo caecos in foveam
8 lapsos. Alii alios intueri; contemplari arma mox tra-
denda et inermes futuras dextras obnoxiaque corpora
hosti; proponere sibimet ipsi ante oculos iugum hos-
tile et ludibria victoris et vultus superbos et per
9 armatos inermium iter, inde foedi agminis miserabilem
viam per sociorum urbes, reditum in patriam ad
parentes, quo saepe ipsi maioresque eorum trium-
10 phantes venissent: se solos sine vulnere, sine ferro, sine
acie victos; sibi non stringere licuisse gladios, non manum
cum hoste conferre; sibi nequiquam animos datos.

11 Haec frementibus hora fatalis ignominiae advenit,
omnia tristiora experiundo factura, quam quae praece-
12 perant animis. Iam primum cum singulis vestimentis
inermes extra vallum exire iussi, et primi traditi
13 obsides atque in custodiam abducti. Tum a con-
sulibus abire lictores iussi paludamentaque detracta;
id tantam inter ipsos, qui paulo ante eos exse-
crantes dedendos lacerandosque censuerant, misera-
14 tionem fecit, ut suae quisque condicionis oblitus
ab illa deformatione tantae maiestatis velut ab
1 nefando spectaculo averteret oculos. VI. Primi
consules prope seminudi sub iugum missi, tum ut
quisque gradu proximus erat, ita ignominiae obiectus,
2 tum deinceps singulae legiones. Circumstabant armati
hostes exprobrantes eludentesque; gladii etiam plerisque

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7. **illis**: the consuls.

9. **viam**: inaccurately used for variety after *iter*. Both are "the journey." **ipsi**: referring to the *parentes*, as does *eorum*.

12. **cum . . . inermes**: the terms of the pact are specifically repeated.

13. **a consulibus**: "from the consuls." The Samnites are now giving the orders. **paludamenta**: the cloaks of gold and purple worn by the commanders.

VI. 1. **gradu proximus**: i.e. *quaestores, legati, tribuni*.

2. **plerisque**: = *permultis*, as often in Livy. **offendisset**: iterative.

intentati, et vulnerati quidam necatique, si vultus
eorum indignitate rerum acrior victorem offendisset.
3 Ita traducti sub iugum et, quod paene gravius erat,
per hostium oculos cum e saltu evasissent, etsi velut
ab inferis extracti tum primum lucem aspicere visi
sunt, tamen ipsa lux ita deforme intuentibus agmen
4 omni morte tristior fuit. Itaque cum ante noctem
Capuam pervenire possent, incerti de fide sociorum et
quod pudor praepediebat, circa viam haud procul Capua
5 omnium egena corpora humi prostraverunt. Quod ubi
est Capuam nuntiatum, evicit miseratio iusta sociorum
6 superbiam ingenitam Campanis. Confestim insignia sua
consulibus, fasces lictoribus, arma, equos, vestimenta,
7 commeatus militibus benigne mittunt; et venientibus
Capuam cunctus senatus populusque obviam egressus
iustis omnibus hospitalibus privatisque et publicis
8 fungitur officiis. Neque illis sociorum comitas vultusque
benigni et adloquia non modo sermonem elicere, sed
ne ut oculos quidem attollerent aut consolantes amicos
9 contra intuerentur efficere poterant; adeo super maerorem pudor quidam fugere colloquia et coetus hominum
10 cogebat. Postero die cum iuvenes nobiles, missi a
Capua, ut proficiscentes ad finem Campanum prose-
11 querentur, revertissent, vocatique in curiam percunctantibus maioribus natu multo sibi maestiores et
12 abiectioris animi visos referrent: adeo silens ac prope
mutum agmen incessisse; iacere indolem illam Romanam,
ablatosque cum armis animos, non reddere salutem
salutantibus, non dare responsum, non hiscere quem-

3. omni morte: "than any form of death."

5. superbiam: see on 7. 31. 6.

6. sua: "their appropriate." See on 1. 19. 5.

7. iustis: substantive; translate "kept all the regular observances as hosts and (showed) private as well as public courtesies."

8. consolantes: conative. **contra:** see on 1. 16. 6.

10. cum . . . referrent: resumed by *cum haec dicerentur* (7. 1).

quam prae metu potuisse, tamquam ferentibus adhuc
13 cervicibus iugum, sub quod emissi essent, habere Sam-
nites victoriam non praeclaram solum, sed etiam per-
petuam; cepisse enim eos non Romam, sicut ante Gallos,
sed, quod multo bellicosius fuerit, Romanam virtutem
1 ferociamque: — VII. cum haec dicerentur audirenturque
et deploratum paene Romanum nomen in concilio socio-
rum fidelium esset, dicitur Ofillius Calavius, Ovi filius,
2 clarus genere factisque, tum etiam aetate verendus,
3 longe aliter se habere rem dixisse: silentium illud obsti-
natum fixosque in terram oculos et surdas ad omnia
solacia aures et pudorem intuendae lucis ingentem
4 molem irarum ex alto animo cientis indicia esse. Aut
Romana se ignorare ingenia aut silentium illud Sam-
nitibus flebiles brevi clamores gemitusque excitaturum,
Caudinaeque pacis aliquanto Samnitibus quam Romanis
5 tristiorem memoriam fore; quippe suos quemque eorum
animos habiturum, ubicumque congressuri sint; saltus
Caudinos non ubique Samnitibus fore.
6 Iam Romae etiam sua infamis clades erat. Obsessos
primum audierunt; tristior deinde ignominiosae pacis
7 magis quam periculi nuntius fuit. Ad famam obsidionis
dilectus haberi coeptus erat; dimissus deinde auxiliorum
apparatus, postquam deditionem tam foede factam
acceperunt; extemploque sine ulla publica auctoritate
8 consensum in omnem formam luctus est. Tabernae
circa forum clausae iustitiumque in foro sua sponte
coeptum prius quam indictum, lati clavi, anuli aurei

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13. **bellicosius:** "requiring greater prowess."

VII. 3. **molem:** obj. of *cientis* (= *eius, qui cieret*).

5. **quippe,** etc.: i.e. each nation would be itself in the next encounter, unaided on the one hand, unembarrassed on the other, by such a situation as at the Caudine Forks.

7. **auxiliorum:** not allies here, but the levy just mentioned. **consensum . . . est:** impersonal.

8. **iustitium:** see on 3. 27. 2. **lati clavi:** the laticlave, or broad purple stripe, on the tunic of senators. **anuli aurei:** worn only by men of high rank, while the plebs wore iron ones.

9 positi; paene maestior exercitu ipso civitas esse, nec
ducibus solum atque auctoribus sponsoribusque pacis
irasci, sed innoxios etiam milites odisse et negare urbe
10 tectisve accipiendos. Quam concitationem animorum
fregit adventus exercitus etiam iratis miserabilis. Non
enim tamquam in patriam revertentes ex insperato
incolumes, sed captorum habitu vultuque ingressi sero
11 in urbem ita se in suis quisque tectis abdiderunt, ut
postero atque insequentibus diebus nemo eorum forum
12 aut publicum aspicere vellet. Consules in privato abditi
nihil pro magistratu agere, nisi quod expressum senatus
consulto est, ut dictatorem dicerent comitiorum causa.
13 Q. Fabium Ambustum dixerunt et P. Aelium Paetum
14 magistrum equitum; quibus vitio creatis suffecti M.
Aemilius Papus dictator, L. Valerius Flaccus magister
equitum. Nec per eos comitia habita, et, quia taedebat
populum omnium magistratuum eius anni, res ad inter-
15 regnum rediit. Interreges Q. Fabius Maximus, M. Va-
lerius Corvus. Is consules creavit Q. Publilium Philonem
et L. Papirium Cursorem iterum haud dubio consensu
civitatis, quod nulli ea tempestate duces clariores essent.
1 VIII. Quo creati sunt die, eo — sic enim placuerat
patribus — magistratum inierunt, sollemnibusque sena-
tus consultis perfectis de pace Caudina rettulerunt;
2 et Publilius penes quem fasces erant: 'dic, Sp. Pos-
tumi,' inquit. Qui ubi surrexit, eodem illo vultu, quo
3 sub iugum missus erat: 'haud sum ignarus' inquit,
'consules, ignominiae, non honoris causa me primum
excitatum iussumque dicere, non tamquam senatorem,
sed tamquam reum qua infelicis belli qua ignominiosae

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14. vitio: "by error." **taedebat:** impersonal, with gen. case of the object of dissatisfaction.

15. essent: the assigned reason.

VIII. **1. solemnibus:** routine matters, such as division of duties for the consuls, fixing certain religious festivals, etc. **rettulerunt:** technical; "introduced the question."

3. excitatum: sc. *esse*. **qua:** see on 3. 4.

4 pacis. Ego tamen, quando neque de noxa nostra neque de poena rettulistis, omissa defensione, quae non difficillima esset apud haud ignaros fortunarum humanarum necessitatiumque, sententiam de eo, de quo rettulistis, paucis peragam. Quae sententia testis erit, mihine an legionibus vestris pepercerim, cum me seu turpi seu
5 necessaria sponsione obstrinxi; qua tamen, quando iniussu populi facta est, non tenetur populus Romanus, nec quicquam ex ea praeterquam corpora nostra debentur
6 Samnitibus. Dedamur per fetiales nudi vinctique; exsolvamus religione populum, si qua obligavimus, ne quid divini humanive obstet, quo minus iustum piumque
7 de integro ineatur bellum. Interea consules exercitum scribere, armare, educere placet, nec prius ingredi hostium fines, quam omnia iusta in deditionem nostram
8 perfecta erunt. Vos, dii immortales, precor quaesoque, si vobis non fuit cordi Sp. Postumium, T. Veturium
9 consules cum Samnitibus prospere bellum gerere, at vos satis habeatis vidisse nos sub iugum missos, vidisse sponsione infami obligatos, videre nudos vinctosque hostibus deditos, omnem iram hostium nostris capitibus
10 excipientes; novos consules legionesque Romanas ita cum Samnite gerere bellum velitis, ut omnia ante nos con-
11 sules bella gesta sunt.' Quae ubi dixit, tanta simul admiratio miseratioque viri incessit homines, ut modo vix crederent illum eundem esse Sp. Postumium, qui
12 auctor tam foedae pacis fuisset, modo miserarentur, quod vir talis etiam praecipuum apud hostes supplicium passurus esset ob iram diremptae pacis.

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6. Dedamur, etc.: the advice of Postumius to his countrymen becomes cheap heroism in the light of his obligation to the Samnites. **si qua:** sc. *religione*.

7. scribere: "enroll." **placet:** sc. *mihi*.

8. cordi: see on 1. 4.

12. passurus esset: "would certainly undergo;" see on *essent*, 7. 15.

1 X. Movit patres conscriptos cum causa tum auctor, nec ceteros solum, sed tribunos etiam plebei, ut se in
2 senatus dicerent fore potestate. Magistratu inde se extemplo abdicaverunt, traditique fetialibus cum ceteris Caudium ducendi. Hoc senatus consulto facto lux quae-
3 dam adfulsisse civitati visa est. Postumius in ore erat, eum laudibus ad caelum ferebant, devotioni P. Decii
4 consulis, aliis claris facinoribus aequabant: emersisse civitatem ex obnoxia pace illius consilio et opera; ipsum se cruciatibus et hostium irae offerre piaculaque pro
5 populo Romano dare. Arma cuncti spectant et bellum: en umquam futurum, ut congredi armatis cum Samnite liceat?

6 In civitate ira odioque ardente dilectus prope omnium voluntariorum fuit. Rescriptae ex eodem milite novae
7 legiones, ductusque ad Caudium exercitus. Praegressi fetiales ubi ad portam venere, vestem detrahi pacis sponsoribus iubent, manus post tergum vinciri. Cum apparitor verecundia maiestatis Postumi laxe vinciret: 'quin tu' inquit 'adducis lorum, ut iusta fiat deditio?'
8 Tum ubi in coetum Samnitium et ad tribunal ventum Pontii est, A. Cornelius Arvina fetialis ita verba fecit:
9 'quandoque hisce homines iniussu populi Romani Quiritium foedus ictum iri spoponderunt atque ob eam

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X. *The tribunes of the Commons, themselves among the* sponsores *and apparently elected to the tribuneship before news of the disaster had reached Rome, objected to annulling the pact unless the army should be put back in the position whence it was rescued by the* sponsio. *They claimed personal exemption from surrender because of their sacred character by virtue of their office. Postumius renewed his urging with good effect.*

1. Movit: on the position, see on 1. 59. 4.

2. abdicaverunt: the tribunes were then not *sacrosancti* (2. 33. 1), and therefore could be surrendered.

3. in ore: sc. *omnium.* **devotioni, facinoribus:** shorthand expressions (brachylogy) for those who had done these things.

5. futurum: sc. *esse.* See on 3. 47. 2.

6. Rescriptae: "re-enrolled."

7. quin . . . adducis: emphatic for *adduc.*

9. quandoque: archaic for *quando quidem.* See on 1. 16. 3. **hisce:**

rem noxam nocuerunt, ob eam rem, quo populus Romanus
scelere impio sit solutus, hosce homines vobis dedo.'
10 Haec dicenti fetiali Postumius genu femur quanta maxime
poterat vi perculit, et clara voce ait se Samnitem civem
esse, illum legatum fetialem a se contra ius gentium
1 violatum; eo iustius bellum gesturos XI. Tum Pontius:
'nec ego istam deditionem accipiam' inquit, 'nec
2 Samnites ratam habebunt. Quin tu, Spuri Postumi, si
deos esse censes, aut omnia inrita facis aut pacto stas?
Samniti populo omnes, quos in potestate habuit, aut
3 pro iis pax debetur. Sed quid ego te appello, qui te
captum victori cum qua potes fide restituis? Populum
Romanum appello, quem si sponsionis ad furculas Caudinas
factae paenitet, restituat legiones intra saltum,
4 quo saeptae fuerunt. Nemo quemquam deceperit, omnia
pro infecto sint, recipiant arma, quae per pactionem
tradiderunt, redeant in castra sua, quidquid pridie
habuerunt, quam in colloquium est ventum, habeant;
tum bellum et fortia consilia placeant, tum sponsio et
5 pax repudietur. Ea fortuna, iis locis, quae ante pacis
mentionem habuimus, geramus bellum, nec populus
Romanus consulum sponsionem nec nos fidem populi
6 Romani accusemus. Numquamne causa defiet, cur victi
pacto non stetis? Obsides Porsinnae dedistis: furto
7 eos subduxistis; auro civitatem a Gallis redemistis:
inter accipiendum aurum caesi sunt; pacem nobiscum
pepigistis, ut legiones vobis captas restitueremus: eam

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archaic nom. plur. **noxam nocuerunt:** old formula, with *figura etymologica*.

10. dicenti fetiali: dat. of ref., equivalent to a gen. with *femur*. See on 1. 9. 14. **Samnitem civem,** etc.: this legal fiction is as farcical as Portia's injunction to Shylock not to shed "one drop of Christian blood." **gesturos:** sc. *Romanos*.

XI. **3. paenitet:** see on *taedebat* (7. 14).

4. deceperit: see on *fuerit*, 1. 23. 8. **pro infecto:** "as if they had not taken place."

6. defiet: = *deficiet*.

7. inter: temporal; only in Livy with the gerundive in classical Latin. On the act, cf. 5. 49. 1.

pacem inritam facitis. Et semper aliquam fraudi spe-
8 ciem iuris imponitis. Non probat populus Romanus
ignominiosa pace legiones servatas? Pacem sibi habeat,
legiones captas victori restituat; hoc fide, hoc foederibus,
9 hoc fetialibus caerimoniis dignum erat. Ut quidem tu,
quod petisti per pactionem, habeas, tot cives incolumes,
ego pacem, quam hos tibi remittendo pactus sum, non
habeam, hoc tu, A. Corneli, hoc vos, fetiales, iuris genti-
10 bus dicitis? Ego vero istos, quos dedi simulatis, nec
accipio nec dedi arbitror nec moror, quo minus in civi-
tatem obligatam sponsione commissa iratis omnibus
11 diis, quorum eluditur numen, redeant. Gerite bellum,
quando Sp. Postumius modo legatum fetialem genu
perculit. Ita dii credent Samnitem civem Postumium,
non civem Romanum esse, et a Samnite legatum Roma-
num violatum; eo vobis iustum in nos factum esse bellum.
12 Haec ludibria religionum non pudere in lucem proferre,
et vix pueris dignas ambages senes ac consulares fallen-
13 dae fidei exquirere! I, lictor, deme vincla Romanis;
moratus sit nemo, quo minus, ubi visum fuerit, abeant.'
Et illi quidem, forsitan et publica, sua certe liberata
fide, ab Caudio in castra Romana inviolati redierunt.
1 XII. Samnitibus pro superba pace infestissimum cer-
nentibus renatum bellum omnia, quae deinde evenerunt,
2 non in animis solum, sed prope in oculis esse, et sero

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9. Ut . . . habeas, . . . non habeam: subst. clauses in apposition with *hoc iuris* below.

10. obligatam: Pontius thus declares the terms of the *sponsio* in operation and represents the gods as angered by the Roman breach of faith.

11. Ita . . . credent: ironical.

12. pudere: sc. acc. *vos*. The exclamation expresses indignation. Cf. *mene desistere*, Aen 1. 37. **ambages:** "evasions."

13. forsitan: the doubt which this represents in Livy's own mind has caused him to frame this trenchant speech for Pontius.

XII. **1. omnia, quae . . . evenerunt:** "all the subsequent events;" subj. of the hist. inf. *esse*.

2. media: with *quae*, "midway between which." Cf. 2. 7. **possessionem . . . mutasse:** contrary to this, what one exchanges is usually the means (abl.) by which the second object is obtained.

ac nequiquam laudare senis Pontii utraque consilia, inter quae se media lapsos victoriae possessionem pace incerta mutasse; et beneficii et maleficii occasione amissa pugnaturos cum eis, quos potuerint in perpetuum vel
3 inimicos tollere vel amicos facere. Adeoque, nullodum certamine inclinatis viribus post Caudinam pacem animi mutaverant, ut clariorem inter Romanos deditio Postumium quam Pontium incruenta victoria inter
4 Samnites faceret, et geri posse bellum Romani pro victoria certa haberent, Samnites simul rebellasse et vicisse crederent Romanum.

1 XVII. Nihil minus quaesitum a principio huius operis videri potest, quam ut plus iusto ab rerum ordine declinarem varietatibusque distinguendo opere et legentibus velut deverticula amoena et requiem animo meo
2 quaererem; tamen tanti regis ac ducis mentio, quibus saepe tacitis cogitationibus volutavi animum, eas evocat in medium, ut quaerere libeat, quinam eventus Romanis rebus, si cum Alexandro foret bellatum, futurus fuerit.
3 Plurimum in bello pollere videntur militum copia et virtus, ingenia imperatorum, fortuna, per omnia humana,

---

3. **nullodum:** see on 7. 33. 13.
4. **geri posse bellum:** "the possibility of making war." **simul,** etc.: i.e. that renewal of the war by the Romans was equivalent to a Roman victory.

XVII. XVIII. 6-XIX. IF ALEXANDER THE GREAT HAD INVADED ITALY.

In Chap. 16 *the Roman general Papirius Cursor, who had fought most successfully against the Samnites, is regarded as the equal of Alexander the Great. This mention leads to an interesting digression of more than ordinary* (plus iusto) *length, comparing the Roman strength with the forces of the Macedonian general.*

XVII. 1. **minus quaesitum:** i.e. farther from my intention. **varietatibus . . . opere:** "by embellishing the work with varied subjects." **velut:** apologizing for *deverticula,* literally "by-paths," into which one turns aside.

2. **foret** (= *esset*) **bellatum:** the *si* clause of conditions contrary to fact is unchanged in indir. disc. but the apodosis if depending upon a construction requiring the subjunctive (*quaerere quinam eventus*) is distinguished by the past periphrastic of the active form. (*futurus fuerit*).

3. **Plurimum in bello pollere:** "have especial weight in war."

maxime in re bellica potens. Ea et singula intuenti
4 et universa, sicut ab aliis regibus gentibusque, ita ab
hoc quoque facile praestant invictum Romanum impe-
5 rium. Iam primum, ut ordiar ab ducibus comparandis,
haud equidem abnuo egregium ducem fuisse Alexan-
drum; sed clariorem tamen eum facit, quod unus fuit,
quod adulescens in incremento rerum, nondum alteram
6 fortunam expertus, decessit. Ut alios reges claros
ducesque omittam, magna exempla casuum humanorum,
Cyrum, quem maxime Graeci laudibus celebrant,
quid nisi longa vita, sicut Magnum modo Pompeium,
7 vertenti praebuit fortunae? Recenseam duces Romanos,
nec omnes omnium aetatium, sed ipsos eos, cum quibus
consulibus aut dictatoribus Alexandro fuit bellandum,
8 M. Valerium Corvum, C. Marcium Rutilum, C. Sulpi-
cium, T. Manlium Torquatum, Q. Publilium Philonem,
L. Papirium Cursorem, Q. Fabium Maximum, duos
9 Decios, L. Volumnium, M'. Curium? Deinceps ingentes
sequuntur viri, si Punicum Romano praevertisset bellum
10 seniorque in Italiam traiecisset. Horum in quolibet cum
indoles eadem, quae in Alexandro, erat animi ingeniique,
tum disciplina militaris, iam inde ab initiis urbis tradita
per manus, in artis perpetuis praeceptis ordinatae modum
11 venerat. Ita reges gesserant bella, ita deinde exactores

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3. **intuenti:** sc. *alicui;* dat. of reference, with conditional force.

5. **quod unus fuit:** while the Romans had two consuls and yearly succession in office. Cf. 18. 13. **in incremento rerum:** "while still advancing in his successes."

6. **Graeci:** especially Xenophon in his Cyropaedia. **Pompeium:** the most glorious part of Pompey's life ended with his third triumph, 51 B. C., three years before his death. **vertenti:** the *altera fortuna* above, "Fortune in her changing mood."

7. **Alexandro:** dat. of agent.

8. **Papirium:** easily the greatest of the generals in this list.

9. **ingentes . . . viri:** e.g., Fabricius and Coruncanius. **Punicum . . . traiecisset:** i.e. if Alexander had waged war with Carthage and then come to Italy.

10. **artis perpetuis praeceptis ordinatae:** as if their system of warfare had been reduced to a fine art, the successive leaders instructing the next generation.

11. **quibus:** dat. of agent. The alternative reading *quibuscum*, Livy never uses.

regum Iunii Valeriique, ita deinceps Fabii, Quinctii, Cornelii, ita Furius Camillus, quem iuvenes ii, quibus cum Alexandro dimicandum erat, senem viderant.
12 Militaria opera pugnando obeunti Alexandro — nam ea quoque haud minus clarum eum faciunt — cessisset videlicet in acie oblatus par Manlius Torquatus aut Valerius Corvus, insignes ante milites quam duces,
13 cessissent Decii devotis corporibus in hostem ruentes, cessisset Papirius Cursor illo corporis robore, illo animi!
14 Victus esset consiliis iuvenis unius, ne singulos nominem, senatus ille, quem qui ex regibus constare dixit, unus
15 veram speciem Romani senatus cepit! Id vero erat periculum, ne sollertius quam quilibet unus ex his, quos nominavi, castris locum caperet, commeatus expediret, ab insidiis praecaveret, tempus pugnae deligeret,
16 aciem instrueret, subsidiis firmaret. Non cum Dareo rem esse dixisset, quem mulierum ac spadonum agmen trahentem, inter purpuram atque aurum, oneratum fortunae apparatibus suae, praedam verius quam hostem, nihil aliud quam bene ausus vana contemnere,
17 incruentus devicit. Longe alius Italiae quam Indiae, per quam temulento agmine comisabundus incessit, visus illi habitus esset, saltus Apuliae ac montes Lucanos cernenti et vestigia recentia domesticae cladis, ubi avunculus eius nuper, Epiri rex Alexander, absumptus

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12. videlicet: strongly ironical. Its force continues with *Victus esset* and is renewed in *vero* (15). **oblatus par:** "if pitted against him."

14. qui . . . dixit: Cineas, once a representative of King Pyrrhus at Rome. His statement of the doctrine of Epicurus, very indirectly reported, is the basis of Cicero's discussion in de Sen. 43 ff.

16. trahentem: sc. *secum*. **nihil . . . contemnere:** "with no great daring except that he properly disregarded the vain show."

17: alius. with *habitus*, "aspect." **comisabundus:** See Introd. V. 2. *e*. Alexander in drunken revelry imitated a Bacchanalian procession through Asia. *Hoc modo per dies VII bacchabundum agmen incessit*, Curt. Hist. Alex. 9 10. 27. **domesticae:** explained by *avunculus eius*. Alexander Molossus who had aided the Tarentines against the Romans was killed by a Lucanian (8. 24. 1).

6 erat. XVIII. Id vero periculum erat, quod levissimi
ex Graecis, qui Parthorum quoque contra nomen Roma-
num gloriae favent, dictitare solent, ne maiestatem
nominis Alexandri, quem ne fama quidem illis notum
arbitror fuisse, sustinere non potuerit populus Romanus,
7 et adversus quem Athenis, in civitate fracta Macedonum
armis, cernente tum maxime prope fumantes Thebarum
ruinas, contionari libere ausi sunt homines, id quod ex
monumentis orationum patet, adversus eum nemo ex
tot proceribus Romanis vocem liberam missurus fuerit?
8 Quantalibet magnitudo hominis concipiatur animo, unius
tamen ea magnitudo hominis erit, collecta paulo plus
9 decem annorum felicitate; quam qui eo extollunt, quod
populus Romanus, etsi nullo bello, multis tamen proeliis
victus sit, Alexandro nullius pugnae non secunda for-
tuna fuerit, non intellegunt se hominis res gestas, et
eius iuvenis, cum populi iam octingentesimum bellantis
10 annum rebus conferre. Miremur, si, cum ex hac parte
saecula plura numerentur quam ex illa anni, plus in
tam longo spatio quam in aetate tredecim annorum
11 fortuna variaverit? Quin tu hominis cum homine et
12 ducis cum duce fortunam confers? Quot Romanos duces
nominem, quibus numquam adversa fortuna pugnae
fuit? Paginas in annalibus magistratuumque fastis
percurrere licet consulum dictatorumque, quorum nec

XVIII. 6. **levissimi ex Graecis:** a nation *lingua magis strenua quam factis*, according to Livy 8. 22. 8. The whole digression is apparently an answer to these otherwise unknown boasters. **illis:** the Romans.

7. **Thebarum ruinas:** the home of the poet Pindar alone is said to have been spared by Alexander. **orationum:** e.g. of Demosthenes and Lycurgus. **adversus eum:** resuming *adversus quem.* **missurus fuerit:** see on *futurus fuerit,* 17. 2.

8. **concipiatur:** concessive. **collecta . . . felicitate:** "gained from the success."

9. **victus sit:** subjunctive of assigned reason. **octingentesimum:** in round numbers; used inaccurately for Alexander's time, because Livy still feels it true in his own day.

10. **ex hac parte:** i.e. on the Roman side.

11. **quin . . . confers?:** = *confer.*

12. **consulum:** with *paginas.* **in . . . fastis:** "in the records and official lists." See Introd. p. 16.

virtutis nec fortunae ullo die populum Romanum paeni-
13 tuit. Et, quo sint mirabiliores quam Alexander aut
quisquam rex, denos vicenosque dies quidam dictaturam,
14 nemo plus quam annum consulatum gessit; ab tribunis
plebis dilectus impediti sunt; post tempus ad bella
ierunt; ante tempus comitiorum causa revocati sunt;
15 in ipso conatu rerum circumegit se annus; collegae nunc
temeritas nunc pravitas impedimento aut damno fuit;
male gestis rebus alterius successum est; tironem aut
16 mala disciplina institutum exercitum acceperunt. At
hercule reges non liberi solum impedimentis omnibus,
sed domini rerum temporumque trahunt consiliis cuncta,
17 non sequuntur. Invictus ergo Alexander cum invictis
ducibus bella gessisset, et eadem fortunae pignera in
18 discrimen detulisset, immo etiam eo plus periculi sub-
isset, quod Macedones unum Alexandrum habuissent,
multis casibus non solum obnoxium, sed etiam offer-
19 entem se, Romani multi fuissent Alexandro vel gloria
vel rerum magnitudine pares, quorum suo quisque fato
sine publico discrimine viveret morereturque.

1 XIX. Restat, ut copiae copiis comparentur vel
numero vel militum genere vel multitudine auxiliorum.
2 Censebantur eius aetatis lustris ducena quinquagena
milia capitum. Itaque in omni defectione sociorum
Latini nominis urbano prope dilectu decem scribebantur
3 legiones; quaterni quinique exercitus saepe per eos

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13. quo sint: the purpose of the following statement. **quisquam:** = *ullus*, as often in Livy. **quidam:** sc. *gesserunt*.

14. ab tribunis: the tribunes of the Commons had the power of veto and were frequently obstructionists. **tempus:** i.e. the right time. **comitiorum causa:** the consuls conducted the elections.

15. impedimento: dat. of purpose **male . . . successum est:** "inherited the failures of a predecessor."

16. sequuntur: sc. *consilia aliorum* from *consiliis* (*suis*).

17. eadem . . . detulisset: "would have staked the same chances of success."

XIX. **1. Restat:** cf. 17. 3.

2. lustris: the citizens were rated every five years, when a *lustrum* or sacrifice of purification (*suovetaurilia*) usually took place in the Campus Martius. **omni:** for *omnium*.

annos in Etruria, in Umbria Gallis hostibus adiunctis,
4 in Samnio, in Lucanis gerebant bellum. Latium deinde
omne cum Sabinis et Volscis et Aequis et omni Cam-
pania et parte Umbriae Etruriaeque et Picentibus et
Marsis Paelignisque ac Vestinis atque Apulis, adiuncta
omni ora Graecorum inferi maris a Thuriis Neapolim
et Cumas, et inde Antio atque Ostiis tenus, aut socios
validos Romanis aut fractos bello invenisset hostes.
5 Ipse traiecisset mare cum veteranis Macedonibus, non
plus triginta milibus hominum, et quattuor milibus
equitum, maxime Thessalorum; hoc enim roboris erat.
Persas, Indos aliasque si adiunxisset gentes, impedi-
6 mentum maius quam auxilium traheret. Adde, quod
Romanis ad manum domi supplementum esset, Alex-
andro, quod postea Hannibali accidit, alieno in agro
7 bellanti exercitus consenuisset. Arma clipeus sarisaeque
illis; Romano scutum, maius corpori tegumentum, et
pilum, haud paulo quam hasta vehementius ictu missu-
8 que telum. Statarius uterque miles, ordines servans;
sed illa phalanx immobilis et unius generis, Romana
acies distinctior, ex pluribus partibus constans, facilis
9 partienti, quacumque opus esset, facilis iungenti. Iam

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4. **Graecorum**: the colonies of the S. W. coast of Italy. **tenus**: always after its case. Cf. *summo tenus ore*, Aen. 1. 737.

5. **triginta milibus**: *XXX milia peditum sequebantur, in quibus Graecorum erant IIII milia,* Curt. 5. 8. 3.

6. **ad manum**: "at hand." **Adde, quod**: = *praeterea*. **esset**: for *fuisset;* but *esset* makes it apply in Livy's own day. See on 18. 9. **quod . . . accidit**: During all the years of the 2nd Punic war Hannibal had to maintain himself in Italy practically unsupported by his home government.

7. **sarisaeque**: like the Roman *hastae*. **scutum**: the oblong *scutum* gave more protection than the small round *clipeus*. Cf. 8. 8. 3. **vehementius**: "more effective." **ictu missuque**: hendiadys, "in its blow when hurled."

8. **Statarius**: = *stabilis*. **illa phalanx**: the famous Macedonian phalanx lacked both mobility and power to vary its attack, or change front in the face of the enemy. The Romans had abandoned the phalanx arrangement for the maniple. **distinctior**: "less compact." **partienti**: see on *intuenti*, 17. 3. **esset**: iterative.

9. **victus**: = *si victus esset*. **Caudium**: cf. 9. 12. 4. **Cannae**: here

in opere quis par Romano miles? Quis ad tolerandum
laborem melior? Uno proelio victus Alexander bello
victus esset; Romanum, quem Caudium, quem Cannae
10 non fregerunt, quae fregisset acies? Ne ille saepe, etiam
si prima prospere evenissent, Persas et Indos et imbellem
Asiam quaesisset, et cum feminis sibi bellum fuisse
11 dixisset, quod Epiri regem Alexandrum, mortifero vul-
nere ictum, dixisse ferunt, sortem bellorum in Asia ges-
12 torum ab hoc ipso iuvene cum sua conferentem. Equi-
dem, cum per annos quattuor et viginti primo Punico
bello classibus certatum cum Poenis recordor, vix aetatem
13 Alexandri suffecturam fuisse reor ad unum bellum; et
forsitan, cum et foederibus vetustis iuncta res Punica
Romanae esset, et timor par adversus communem hos-
tem duas potentissimas armis virisque urbes armaret,
14 simul Punico Romanoque obrutus bello esset. Non
quidem Alexandro duce nec integris Macedonum rebus,
sed experti tamen sunt Romani Macedonem hostem
adversus Antiochum, Philippum, Persen, non modo cum
15 clade ulla, sed ne cum periculo quidem suo. Absit invidia
verbo et civilia bella sileant: numquam ab equite hoste,
numquam a pedite, numquam aperta acie, numquam
aequis, utique numquam nostris locis laboravimus;
16 equitem, sagittas, saltus impeditos, avia commeatibus

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was a most crushing defeat in the 2nd Punic war. The Roman losses were variously put at 50,000 to 70,000. Cf. 22. 50. 3.

10. Ne: "in truth."

11. sua: sc. *sorte in Italia.*

12. classibus: the 1st Punic war gave Rome supremacy on the Mediterranean. Cf. 21. 1. 5. **suffecturam fuisse:** *suffecisset* in dir. disc.

13. armaret: "must have armed them;" jussive subjunctive.

15. Absit invidia verbo: "let it be said without envy," i.e. the gods might be offended by boasts; but obvious exaggeration follows. **nostris:** "favorable." **laboravimus:** "have we suffered disaster;" = *victi summus.*

16. equitem, sagittas: referring to the Parthians whose horsemen discharged showers of arrows upon the legionaries and then dashed away with "Parthian shots" behind them. **saltus impeditos:** cf. 2. 7.

17 loca, gravis armis miles timere potest; mille acies graviores quam Macedonum atque Alexandri avertit avertetque, modo sit perpetuus huius, qua vivimus, pacis amor et civilis cura concordiae.

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17. huius . . . pacis: the date of writing is probably after the closing of the temple of Janus in 25 B. C.; certainly before 20 B. C., since the return then of the standards captured by the Parthians is not cited in 18. 6. ff. **civilis:** genitive.